

Conceptualizations of English as a Global Language: The Case of Brazil

by

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ABSTRACT

The present study investigates some of the different ways in which English has been conceptualized in Brazil since the beginning of intensified globalization in the 1990s, and proposes how such conceptualizations relate to sociocultural, political and historical phenomena in the country. To this end, central texts (governmental documents, musical lyrics, cultural messages, educational policies, and language school commercials) of three domains of language regulation and use (political discourse, pop culture, and English language teaching) were examined through discourse analytical tools, text mapping, and content analyses. The investigation of each domain was supplemented by analyses of additional data (media texts, artistic work, and teacher interviews) that either confirmed or problematized results.

Findings showed that the symbolic meanings of English in Brazil are caught in a heteroglossic web of discourses, which reflect diverse understandings of global processes, of the spread of English, and of Brazil itself. Tensions between authoritative and internally persuasive discourses, and between centripetal and centrifugal forces are revealed not only across different texts and realms – as reported in studies of English in other contexts – but also within domains, and within the discourses of the same people and institutions. It is argued that legislative authority, the role of the state, and the contradictions between discourses of mobility and empowerment and unsuccessful educational practices play a central role in the way English is understood and experienced in

Brazil, confirming previous claims of an identity crisis, and revealing other crises of power, democracy, politics, and education.

The study adds to the literature on English conceptualizations by bringing an understanding of the case of Brazil, which has not been as extensively investigated as other contexts. Moreover, the individual analyses presented bring new perspectives on the political discourses that have attempted to regulate loanword use in Brazil, and on the nature of language teaching in the country, besides emphasizing the role of pop culture in the understanding of English in that context. Further implications include the discussion of how the study of the spread of English may connect with different understandings of globalization, and the presentation of how the results contribute to language education.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, the world has begun to take a new form. As Friedman (2000) explains, whilst the previous decades had been defined by the divisive nature of the Cold War – with countries divided by walls (imaginary or real), established based on strong notions of the nation-state, and separated into groups of *us versus them* – the end of the socialist world led by the USSR, embodied in the fall of the Berlin Wall in Germany in 1989, brought a new model of trade relations and political arrangements into place. Friedman states that this new system, generally referred to as *globalization*, is mainly characterized by integration (rather than division) and by the *Web*, “which is a symbol that we are all increasingly connected and nobody is quite in charge” (p. 8). Thus, for Friedman, globalization has established a new balance between individuals and nations; a balance that has given people more power “to influence both markets and nation-states than at any time in history” as they can “increasingly act on the world – unmediated by a state” (p. 14).

Although many have made the case that globalization is not a new phenomenon (see Mufwene, 2010 and Blommaert, 2010 for explanations), it is undeniable (whether or not one thinks it is new) that the establishment of free-market capitalism as the major worldwide economic model, as well as the development of mass media conglomerates, popular culture, multinational corporations, and digital media have intensified the processes of worldwide interconnectedness in one way or another (Hammill & Diniz de Figueiredo, in

press). Therefore, according to Giddens (1990), globalization can be defined as the “*intensification* of worldwide social relations which *link distant localities* in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (p. 64, emphasis added).

Considering this increasing relationship between localities, and also between local happenings and major global forces (such as market deregulation, foreign investment and mass media), there are at least two major reasons why studies of language are important to understandings of globalization. First, language is a “vehicle for connections between people and spaces, while at the same time is itself affected by global forces” (Hammill & Diniz de Figueiredo, in press), which means that ties between people and places lead to stronger language contact, as well as to a higher necessity of common languages of communication – i.e. lingua francas. Second, ideas we have about language (and languages) usually reflect ideas we have about ourselves and the world (Seargeant, 2009; Woolard & Shieffelin, 1994), and thus examinations of language help our attempts to understand society (Blommaert, 2010).

This being the case, the global spread of English (hereafter GSE) has received particular attention in studies of applied linguistics, given the fact that the language is widely used across the globe (Crystal, 2003), functions as a worldwide lingua franca (Mufwene, 2010), and “dominates the Internet” (Gee & Hayes, 2011, p. 141), although this is fast changing. Moreover, as explained by Seargeant (2009), the understanding that our ideas of language are more than simply about language (i.e. they are understandings of the world around us)

means that GSE can be conceived as a metaphor of a globalized world – a view that is endorsed here. The examination of GSE, therefore, is crucial for the comprehension of globalization itself.

Statement of the problem

Considering the scenario described above, it has become increasingly important to comprehend GSE in relation to understandings of the phenomenon of globalization, and the forms it takes in different localities and societies (Blommaert, 2010). Such endeavor requires that English be investigated not only as a linguistic system but also as a *concept* around and about which *discourses* are formed, and through which linguistic *resources* are created and used (Blommaert, 2010; Sargeant, 2009).

The significance of these understandings of the language lies in the fact that globalization is characterized by “high complex forms of mobility” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 13), and thus the image of language itself (and of English in particular) “shifts from a static, totalized and immobile one to a dynamic, fragmented and mobile one” (p. 197). Moreover, the very *idea* of English, materialized through its positioning and display in sociocultural environments and through discourses about it, “is a key part of what constitutes the way the language actually exists in any one concept of society” (Sargeant, 2009, p. 166).

Although some studies have already approached these issues (see, for instance, Blommaert, 2010, Niño-Murcia, 2003, and Sargeant, 2009), there is still a need to address them more thoroughly, taking into account different *contexts* where English is used, and the different ways in which it is

conceptualized in these contexts. Analyses of such kind can be informative not only of the ways in which GSE has transformed local realities (and equally, how English itself has been transformed by these contexts), but also of how a particular society has experienced intensified global processes at the local level.

Purpose of the study

In light of the aforementioned considerations, the purpose of the present study was to investigate some of the different ways in which English has been conceptualized in Brazil since the 1990s – i.e., since the beginning of intensified globalization. Based on the understanding that ideologies of language reflect ideas we have about ourselves and society (Sergeant, 2009; Woolard & Shieffelin, 1994), I also examined how these conceptualizations relate to one another, as well as to larger sociocultural, political and historical phenomena in contemporary Brazil, and to the ways the country has experienced globalization.

This investigation is significant for two main reasons. First, whereas some settings where English is used and taught have been extensively investigated from several perspectives (e.g., Japan and China), fewer studies in the overall literature about GSE have focused on Latin American contexts, including Brazil. Second, there is the fact that the study addresses GSE from a theoretical perspective that has just begun to receive more attention in the literature – that of the local conceptualizations of English through discourses about the language and through its use as a linguistic resource.

My belief is that the present research project is also an important contribution to the emerging interest that the humanities as a whole have

developed in relation to Brazil. For the past decade, at least, Brazil has become a major focus of investigation, due to its development as an economic power, and to the political influence it has gained in the international scenario (Fishlow, 2011; Graddol, 2006; Roett, 2010). For instance, whilst in previous decades the country's relation with major economic powers, particularly the United States, was marked by feelings of dependence, skepticism and even inferiority complex (Friedrich, 2001; Rajagopalan, 2003), it seems that now such relation is more characterized by mutual respect and the possibility of closer cooperation (Fishlow, 2011), which has helped increase the attention the country has received. Additionally, much notice has been given by the media and the overall public to the fact that Brazil will host two of the most important sports events worldwide in this decade (the FIFA World Cup in 2014 and the Olympic Games in 2016). Thus, I hope that the connections I make between the conceptualizations of English and larger sociopolitical, cultural, and historical issues in Brazil can also bring important considerations to current studies about the country.

Globalization and the spread of English: A literature review

The understanding that the current status of English as a global language is very much tied to the concept of globalization itself means that studies of GSE may greatly benefit from different theoretical perspectives that try to explain what globalization actually is and how it happens in the world. Eight of these perspectives are thoroughly reviewed and explained by O'Byrne and Hensby (2011), who provide "a survey of much of the main literature which purports, whether explicitly or implicitly, to be about this thing we call *globalization*" (p. 1,

emphasis in the original). Although O’Byrne and Hensby defend that such literature would better be relocated from the study of globalization itself – which they consider confusing and unhelpful – to the broader view of global studies, their framework is still very useful in presenting how different scholars and disciplines have approached and defined this phenomenon. Hence, I have decided to use this framework to guide the understandings of globalization in this study.

In what follows, I provide a review of the eight theories surveyed by O’Byrne & Hensby (2011), and later explain how they connect with current models of GSE in applied linguistics. Such connection brings a strong theoretical basis for the understanding of conceptualizations of English in my context of investigation (Brazil), and how they relate to the ways in which such context has experienced globalization. A brief review of how English has been studied in relation to Brazil is also presented, so that I can situate my work in relation to previous literature on this issue.

The multiple understandings of globalization

The first theory discussed by O’Byrne and Hensby, which for them represents what globalization actually is, is what I will refer to as *the theory of the global village*. According to this framework, globalization is “the process of becoming global” (p. 11), whereby individuals, institutions, entities, and ultimately the world itself engage in the development of global consciousness, which has to do with the awareness of the world as a single place. This process is visible in instances of marketing strategies targeted at the world audience at large, as well as moments when individuals’ political actions “relate directly to the

globe rather than through the level of the nation-state” (p. 31). Some examples include global events such as the Live Aid concert, and worldwide reactions to the 2004 tsunami and to the attacks on the twin towers on September 11, 2001.

The second process is what O’Byrne and Hensby call *liberalization*, which has to do with “the freer flow of goods, resources, people, ideas, capital” (p. 33). For the authors, liberalization has much overlap with the theory of the global village, but a significant difference is that while the latter emphasizes “a direct relationship with the globe *per se*” the former “focuses specifically on the alleged erosion of boundaries *between* nation-states” (p. 33, emphases in the original). Liberalization is thus characterized by neo-liberalism, with its “commitment to the free market and the “rolling back” of the state’s role in economic and social life” (p. 43).

The third theory is called *polarization*, and, as the name suggests, it stresses north-south discrepancies caused by a continuous bias in economic policies benefiting those countries that are already wealthy. The model thus highlights “the need to locate national economies . . . within the broader system dominated by the major industrial powers” (p. 59). O’Byrne and Hensby explain that this framework is in opposition to that of liberalization explained above, in that the latter focuses on the larger economic growth around the globe, whilst the former views liberalization “as an imperialist project developed to protect and extend the interests of the core elite” (p. 62). Scholars who associate themselves with this theory of polarization propose a “globalization-from-below” – which emphasizes the need for drawing on a country’s resources for development (rather

than depending on foreign investment), and subjecting the state and private sector to monitoring by the civil society, amongst other measures.

Americanization, the fourth framework, is similar to polarization, but it singles out one country – the US – to show that distinct power relations amongst different nations do in fact exist. Therefore, rather than discussing imperialism as a whole, theorists who defend this framework focus on American imperialism. They suggest that the term “globalization” serves to “mask the reality of American political, economic and cultural power” (p. 80). Two major concerns shown by those who defend this theory, according to O’Byrne and Hensby, are related to cultural imperialism (characterized by the promotion of American values across the globe), and military imperialism (which entails a more explicit exertion of power). These two types of “imperialism” have encountered several manifestations of resistance, whether through acts of protest and affirmation of local values, in the case of cultural imperialism, or through more violent acts, usually manifested against military imperialism and Americanization as a whole.

The fifth model is not exactly proposed as a theory of globalization per se, but rather as one which “has become intertwined with the literature on globalization” (p. 124). It is called *McDonaldization*, and it centers on the assumption that “practices and institutions around the world are becoming increasingly similar” (p. 104), or homogenizing. The model centers on four principles: a) efficiency (achieved with minimum effort); b) calculability (whereby quality is subordinated to quantity); c) predictability, which minimizes any “undesirable” surprise effect; and d) control, which has to do with the use of

new technologies. A point that is emphasized by O'Byrne and Hensby is the McDonaldization of politics, where countries are entering "a global network of political consensus" (p. 122), a fact that has been detrimental to true political debates in worldwide political discussions.

Creolization is the sixth framework, and it "focuses on . . . flows and exchanges of products, practices, ethics, aesthetics and people, between cultures, and interrogates an imagined world in which global interconnectedness results in the constant redefining of these flows in respect of localized meanings" (p. 126). Cultures are hybridized, rather than homogeneous, and colonialism and imperialism are studied with a focus on how cultural forms are received, indigenized, changed and resisted, in which case there is an "active play between core and periphery" (p. 126). O'Byrne and Hensby state that the model is in direct opposition to those of homogenization (e.g., Americanization), and is associated with postcolonialism and postmodernity. Creolization is "the product of two interlinking processes: one, the effects of imperialism and colonialism causing the cultural interplay of different traditions and national identities; and, two, the postmodern commercialization of culture" (p. 139). It "symbolizes the tearing up, dislocation and juxtaposition of a series of different cultural *identities, histories* and *livelihoods*" (p. 139, emphasis in the original). The importance of the model, therefore, lies in its questioning of how global hybrid cultures and manifestations (such as food and music) are conceptualized.

In the seventh model, *transnationalization*, it is recognized that the power and bounded nature of the nation-state have become weaker in terms of decision-

making, administration, and production. The model may seem very similar to that of the global village described previously, but the basic difference between them is that whilst the latter looks at the globe as a single space, transnationalization understands that there has been a shift “*from the nation-state, to a level above it*” (p. 151, emphasis in the original), but does not necessarily highlight that this level is one of seeing the world as a sole stage. Likewise, transnationalization also resembles liberalization, but the two models differ in that transnationalization does not only stress the weakening of boundaries (like liberalization), but also emphasizes the emergence of a level of governance above the nation-state, as is exemplified by bodies such as the United Nations. Thus, a central idea in transnationalization is that of a multi-centric world, comprised of transnational organizations (e.g., NGOs), problems, events, communities and structures, all of which constitute networks of people, corporations and spaces.

The last theory reviewed by O’Byrne and Hensby is called *balkanization*. The *new international order*, according to this theory, is not one of integration and convergence, but rather one that “remains rooted in ideological and political conflict” (p. 177) of new blocs formed based not only on geopolitics, but also on values, religions and related issues. In other words, the political workings that divided the world in the Cold War era have not been replaced by an integration of nation-states, or by an increasing sense of being global, but rather by cultural allegiances, in a world of “irreconcilable differences” (p. 199), as exemplified by the September 11 attacks, and the subsequent War on Terror declared by the US.

O’Byrne and Hensby explain that these models are not mutually exclusive, but that they are actually all real and happening, “and, probably, at the same time, *none* of them are” (p. 203, emphasis in the original). Thus, the current global condition is “driven by forces which are at the same time globalizing, liberalizing, polarizing, Americanizing, McDonaldizing, creolizing, transnationalizing and balkanizing” (p. 203). Yet, O’Byrne and Hensby make it clear that certain theories seem to be in closer dialogue with each other. For instance, liberalization and polarization are competing economic theories; transnationalization and balkanization oppose one another as theories of political system; McDonaldization and creolization compete in the sphere of global culture; and the theory of the global village and Americanization “sit somewhere outside this orthodoxy” (p. 204).

The global spread of English

Not surprisingly, a close look at models of GSE will reveal that they share many similarities with the frameworks of global studies suggested by O’Byrne and Hensby (2011). In fact, several scholars (e.g., Blommaert, 2010; Pennycook, 2007; Seargeant, 2009) have emphasized the connections between understandings of globalization and theories of global English(es), and have urged GSE scholars to make such connections more explicitly in order to make stronger, more theoretically-founded claims about how language issues relate to histories, cultures, social justice, and empowerment. Blommaert (2010), for instance, criticizes previous work (mainly Calvet, 2006 and Fairclough, 2006) for showing “confusion about what exactly was understood by globalization” (p. 18), and

Pennycook (2007) states that there is an *obligation* of studies of GSE to engage with globalization theories, such as those proposed by Appadurai (1996) and Giddens (1990), amongst others.

In this section, I review four frameworks of GSE – three that have been classically used by several scholars (*World Englishes*, *English as a Lingua Franca*, and *Linguistic Imperialism*), and a more recent one, which will be referred to as *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. I then suggest associations between these four models and the theories of globalization reviewed above, in an attempt to present some *possible* connections between them that can be used to theoretically inform the present investigation as well as future studies on GSE – as proposed by Blommaert (2010), Pennycook (2007) and others.

World Englishes. According to Kachru (1992b), the conceptualization of the world Englishes (hereafter WE) framework dates back to the 1960s, although “organised efforts in discussing the concept and its formal and functional implications were not initiated until 1978” (p. 1). Kachru explains that the use of the term *Englishes*, rather than *English*, is symbolic of the numerous varieties, cultures, identities, functional and formal variations of the language, and that its study must therefore use different methodologies “to capture distinct identities of different Englishes, and to examine critically the implications of such identities in cross-cultural communication” (p. 2).

In brief, the WE framework uses a model of concentric circles to characterize GSE (Kachru, 1992b). The inner circle constitutes countries where English is mainly spoken as a native language (such as the United Kingdom,

United States, Australia and New Zealand). The Outer Circle represents countries where English has been institutionalized as a second language (mainly countries that were former colonies of the British Empire and the United States), such as India, Singapore and the Philippines. As for the expanding circle, it “includes the rest of the world” (Kachru, 1992b, p. 3), where English is mainly taught and used as a foreign language. Examples of countries that are part of this circle are Brazil, Japan, and China.

The model has been praised for its importance in challenging beliefs that varieties other than those from the inner circle are deficient; instead, it proposes that they are different, due to the processes of nativization that English goes through once it expands into other places. Moreover, it has become crucial in disputing commonly held assumptions that the objective of learning English is to speak like a native speaker of the language, and it has stressed the need to look at ELT from a perspective of local values and identities. These factors have led to the empowerment of speakers of other varieties and also of other canons of English.

Nevertheless, the WE framework has been criticized for not being adequate to account for the way GSE has been shaped in the 21st century (see Bruthiaux, 2003, and also Kubota, 2012). Bruthiaux, for example, is highly critical of the fact that the model is based on colonial history, and that its emphasis is on the idea of the nation. For Bruthiaux, these factors oversimplify the complexity of the sociolinguistic realities of English in all circles. In the inner circle, for instance, the focus on language use on a national level does not account

for the numerous varieties that exist within each country, and it also fails to consider differences between spoken and written forms. In terms of the outer circle, Bruthiaux states that the WE framework disregards local sociolinguistic arrangements, as it does not distinguish multilingual societies (e.g. Nigeria) from mainly monolingual ones (e.g. Hong Kong). Furthermore, it makes no mention of the fact that some countries only use English for official purposes, whereas others use it for unofficial ones as well. Finally, as regards the expanding circle, Bruthiaux explains that no reference to different levels of proficiency or communicative competence is made.

Despite these and other concerns, the WE model has proved to be quite successful in providing a theoretical lens for many scholars to approach different issues related to GSE and ELT, perhaps due to the very simplicity that has been the cause of the criticism it has received. When understanding GSE and its connection to globalization, in particular, WE seems particularly useful in at least two ways. First, the notion of nativization of English is strictly related to theories of creolization, whereby global cultural symbols, including English, are appropriated and modified based on local needs – which is crucial for the study of identity and history in the contemporary world. Second, the model emphasizes the notion of intelligibility across speakers of different varieties of the language around the world, which resembles the theory of the global village – in terms of the fact that these speakers communicate using one common language.

English as a Lingua Franca. Another framework that has recently been proposed in relation to GSE is called “English as a Lingua Franca” (ELF). Jenkins

(2009 – in Berns, Jenkins, Modiano, Seidlhofer & Yano, 2009) and Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011) have explained that the model has more similarities than differences with the WE paradigm; yet, there have been interesting scholarly discussions related not only to how the two frameworks differ, but also to how some of the definitions proposed by ELF may be problematic and in need of further development (e.g., Friedrich & Matsuda, 2010).

In brief, ELF was proposed based on the works of Jenkins (2000) and Seidlhofer (2001), in an initial attempt to identify core features of English that were typically used in lingua franca situations (i.e. situations when English is used by speakers of different first languages), as well as features that did not affect communication in those cases¹. Two corpora of English use in lingua franca instances thus began to be compiled – the “Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English” – VOICE, launched in 2009, and the “English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings” – ELFA (Mauranen, 2003)².

Hence, some of the most important contributions of ELF are its focus on communication, its recognition of various users and practices of English, and the compilation of the international English corpora. Major concerns, however, started to be expressed by several scholars, who rightfully viewed the danger of

¹ The term “lingua franca English” (LFE) had been used previously by Firth (1990, 1996) and Meierkord (1998) to denote something different from what is understood by Jenkins (2000) and Seidlhofer (2001). For Firth and Meierkord, LFE was a linguistic function of English, as later suggested by other scholars (e.g., Friedrich & Matsuda, 2010), and not a variety.

² Another corpus of international English, the “Asian Corpus of English” (ACE), has also started to be compiled (see Kirkpatrick, 2010).

equating ELF to a variety of English, rather than a function of the language. As explained by Friedrich and Matsuda (2010), this view fails to capture the reality of communication in English (when used as an international or intra-national language), as it does not account for the diversity of speakers of the language worldwide or for the real uses of English in interactions between these speakers. Moreover, viewing ELF as a form rather than a function also implies the creation of a supra-national variety, which is not only unrealistic, but also means that a new hierarchy of English would be created in ELT. When understood this way, the model would seem to be one more attempt to homogenize a particular entity (in this case, the English language), which resembles the notion of McDonaldization discussed above.

More recent publications on the ELF model have addressed these and other concerns. Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011), for instance, have been categorical in stating that ELF is no longer seen as a variety, but rather as a function of the language. According to them, recent scholarship in ELF has shifted its focus from trying to come up with a core of linguistic features, to looking more closely at “underlying processes that motivate the use of one or another form at any given moment in an interaction” (p. 296), which have tended to be overlooked.

Interestingly, Jenkins and her colleagues have also made the case that ELF emphasizes the fluidity of English rather than a nation-based perspective, a fact that is pointed out by those authors as a major difference between ELF and WE. It seems understandable that ELF scholars have decided to de-emphasize national

ties of English, since its focus is on communicative aspects of the language in interactions involving speakers from any given region or nation. In this sense, the model seems linked to the theory of transnationalization presented above, whereby levels of governance occur at levels above that of the nation state.

The discussions around ELF that have taken place thus far have demonstrated its importance as an emerging framework; yet, it seems that the model is still taking shape in respect to its definitions and core foci of study. It will be interesting to see the directions that scholars using ELF will take in the following years, and the contributions they will make to the study of GSE and ELT.

Linguistic Imperialism. The theory of English linguistic imperialism was proposed by Phillipson (1992), who defended that “the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages” (p. 47). Phillipson, whose data comes from the analysis of documents and interviews with former members of the British Council, suggests that English linguistic imperialism is a type of linguisticism, whereby unequal division of power and resources are legitimated and reproduced based on language (in this case, English).

According to Phillipson’s theory, the spread of English around the globe was neither naïve nor natural, but rather planned by the United Kingdom (with the British Council), and later the United States Information Agency, as a way to secure political and economic interests of these two nations. For Phillipson, this

strategy has contributed to the hegemony of English, that is, to its maintenance as a dominant language. The world of Phillipson's linguistic imperialism is therefore divided between countries in the center and those in the periphery, where the former always provide teachers, models, and materials for ELT, while the latter usually supply the learners of the language, creating a situation of subordination. He proposes that the following five fallacies dominate the world of ELT and guarantee this division and ultimately the language's hegemony: a) that English is best taught monolingually; b) that ideal teachers are native speakers of the language; c) that the earlier one starts learning English, the better; d) that the more is taught, the better the results; and e) that if other languages are used, standards of English will decline. Phillipson is, of course, very critical of these tenets, and he objects to them based on arguments such as the colonial nature of the propositions, the disregard for the benefits of bilingualism, and the basic fact that teachers "are made rather than born" (p. 194).

Phillipson's theory has become very important in applied linguistics overall and in the study of GSE more specifically. The model is a contribution to studies of the political nature of GSE and ELT, bringing a perspective that perhaps the phenomena and enterprises related to the spread of English are not necessarily unplanned and innocent. In relation to globalization as a whole, the theory seems tied to the notion of polarization, whereby power relations between center and periphery are of imbalanced nature, and help perpetuate inequalities between people in those two spheres. Additionally, the idea of English being

sustained through the interests of the United States in recent decades is in alignment with understandings of *Americanization*.

However, Phillipson's theory has also been heavily criticized, mainly due to its strong basis on structuralism. Canagarajah (1999), for instance, proposed that the model's macro perspective of the politics of ELT is inadequate to show how English is appropriated and resisted by students and educators in the periphery, as it disregards the agency that these people have when learning and using the language (see also Friedrich, 2001). In other words, it fails to engage with a micro standpoint, and thus falls short of bringing a complex picture of GSE. Pennycook (2001) also criticizes the model on similar bases, stating that it is "first and foremost an economic model, with the nations at the *center* exploiting the nations in the *periphery*" – which constitutes a reductive view of global relations, "particularly when we are dealing with questions of language and culture" (p. 62).

In spite of the heavy criticism the model has received, it is arguable that English linguistic imperialism exists at least to a certain extent, even if not necessarily in the ways described by Phillipson. A clear example of how the five tenets are strong in ELT and in language policy is the current debate over the education of English language learners in the state of Arizona (and also California and Massachusetts). Recent state measures have been proposed and implemented to guarantee that English is taught monolingually, as early as possible, as fast as possible, by teachers who are not "heavily accented" (see Gándara & Hopkins, 2010, for studies on the issue). This example is illustrative of the importance of

the model for discussions of the role of English and ELT around the world, even if, as pointed out, its overdeterminism and lack of a micro standpoint weaken the claims Phillipson makes.

The Sociolinguistics of Globalization. A recent theoretical lens for studying language and globalization in general and GSE in particular has been proposed by Blommaert (2010). Like many others, Blommaert is critical of imperialism theories, and his critique is mainly based on the notions of space, time, nation and language that are taken for granted in Phillipson's model (where whenever a big language appears in a certain territory, other languages are "threatened"). For Blommaert, theories of such kind conceptualize space as a "place for just one language at a time" (p. 43), and thus they assume the "spatial "fixedness" of people, languages and places" (p. 44), overlooking that an aspect of contemporary reality is "mobility."

Sociolinguistic studies in the modern era of globalization, for Blommaert, cannot examine language phenomena in such a static manner, but must engage with dynamic, fragmented and mobile resources (i.e. bits of language) and ideologies "as deployed by real people in real contexts, and recontextualized by other real people" (p. 43). Therefore, the author proposes a theoretical framework that emphasizes the mobility of signs and people across time and space, where this movement is understood not only in physical terms (across spaces), but also symbolically, "across social spheres and scales" (p. 46). Equally important in the model is the idea of "locality" – which is seen as a powerful frame for the construction and reconstruction of meanings.

Based on these notions, Blommaert offers a descriptive frame to account for the complexities of language phenomena in light of globalization processes. It comprises three key components: a) scales; b) orders of indexicality; and c) policentricity. In brief, scales refer to moves of people or messages through time and space (as in the case of when something, be it a corporation, a group of individuals or a linguistic resource that is individualized or localized becomes collective or translocal through language). Orders of indexicality, in their turn, “define the dominant lines for senses of belonging, for identities and roles in society” (p. 6); that is, they delineate hierarchies of indexicalities (what identities count as more important, as more desirable, and more powerful in society). As for policentricity, it simply means that there are numerous centers of authority to which one can orient oneself (perhaps at the same time) in the globalized world (e.g., one’s own culture and a larger concept of a global culture).

Blommaert claims that the use of these tools should help in the understanding of how “language gets dislodged and its traditional functions distorted by processes of mobility” and also of how “contemporary sociolinguistic realities of globalization articulate old and new patterns of inequality and so make language a problem for many people” (p. 197), as evidenced by patterns of migration where the languages of immigrants are seen as less valuable.

At a first glance, the framework seems promising in being able to account for the interactions of language issues with globalization phenomena, and particularly for the study of GSE, which is the topic that “defines sociolinguistic globalization” (p. 197). The examples given by Blommaert of how his tools can

be used to engage with data coming from sources such as websites selling American accent, spam messages created in periphery countries for audiences in the center, and the case of an asylum application by a refugee from Rwanda in the UK show how powerful the theoretical lens he created can be. Moreover, the model is particularly based on notions of globalization theory. The emphasis on mobile resources that flow across time and space, for example, may be seen as an interesting case of creolization, and the overall emphasis on different scales and poliocentricity are strictly tied to the idea of transnationalization. Still, the theory needs to be extensively used in sociolinguistic studies before any major conclusions about its usefulness can be made.

A summary of current models of GSE. Table 1 presents a summary of these GSE frameworks, and the suggested connections I make between these theories and the globalization models presented by O’Byrne and Hensby (2011). Although the associations I present may seem to oversimplify the relation between globalization and GSE, my intent here – as previously stated – is to present *possible* links between the frameworks, with the objective of bringing interesting insights that can tie the conceptualizations of English in the present study to wider sociopolitical, cultural and historical phenomena in my context of investigation. Moreover, the relations presented in table 1 already correspond to similar associations made previously by other scholars. For instance, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1997) are explicit in linking issues of linguistic human rights and imperialism with McDonaldization and Americanization. Blommaert (2010) presents the sociolinguistics of globalization with a strong basis on the

notion of creolization. Finally, Pennycook (2007) also conceptualizes globalization in terms of creolization, as well as transnationalization. My belief, then, is that the connections I expose here – although simplistic – can help this and future studies grasp the nature of English and of language itself in connection with the complexities of globalization in a well-informed manner.

Table 1

Summary of GSE models

Model	Brief description	Relation to globalization theories
World Englishes (Kachru, 1992b)	Uses a model of concentric circles to characterize the uses of English in different countries, based on how the language is learnt/acquired and used in each of them	Notion of nativization resembles the idea of <i>creolization</i> ; emphasis on intelligibility resembles the orientation to one world of the <i>global village</i>
English as a Lingua Franca (Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2001)	Attempts to identify core features of English used in lingua franca situations that do not affect communication	Current belief in the weakness of the nation-state and the regulation of English above national levels relates to <i>transnationalization</i> ; initial belief in ELF as a variety is connected to idea of <i>McDonaldization</i>
Linguistic Imperialism (Phillipson, 1992)	English is a hegemonic language and the ELT industry has reflected and supported unequal power relations between center and periphery	Division of center and periphery are tied to the notion of <i>polarization</i> ; idea of English being sustained through American interests in recent decades resembles <i>Americanization</i>
The Sociolinguistics of Globalization (Blommaert, 2010)	The study of GSE needs to engage with how language resources and ideologies move across boundaries	Notion of flows relates to <i>creolization</i> ; different scale-levels are tied to the notion of <i>transnationalization</i>

Despite the differences between the GSE models in particular, there is still much overlap in some of the concepts they propose. For instance, WE, linguistic imperialism and ELF all denounce the heavy reliance on the native speaker in ELT; ELF and the sociolinguistics of globalization minimize the idea of nation-state; and studies of borrowing under the WE framework (e.g. Assis-Peterson, 2008; Friedrich, 2002a) seem to address (at least in part) the issue of mobile resources proposed by Blommaert (2010).

Given the existing overlaps between these models, I have decided not to necessarily follow one or another framework exclusively, but rather try to understand how different conceptualizations of English in discourses echo different theories and help us understand the complexities of the context under investigation – Brazil. Before presenting the research questions and theoretical concepts that specifically directed my study of these conceptualizations in more detail, however, I feel that it is necessary to bring a review of English conceptualizations in the GSE literature, and then discuss how the issue of English in Brazil has been addressed by scholars in applied linguistics. It is to these tasks that I now turn.

Conceptualizations of English

As stated previously, recent studies in sociolinguistics have begun to address language not only as a medium of expression but also as a concept *about* which we communicate (Seargeant, 2009), and *through* which semiotic meanings may be expressed (Blommaert, 2010). In this way, language is considered not only a cognitive system that is utilized for communication amongst individuals,

but also a symbolic artifact that is used to construct and convey cultural, historical, and political meanings within societies.

In the specific case of GSE, three main issues have received particular attention in this sense. First, there is the questioning of whether English can indeed be considered a global language. On the one hand, there is the view that the international status of English is merely a discourse that shapes people's consciousness, practices, and institutional policies (Kubota, 2012), since only a specific portion of the world's population actually speaks the language (Graddol, 2006), and many people use other languages for border-crossing communication (Kubota & McKay, 2009; Kubota, 2012). In this case, English is conceptualized as a strong currency, "an object of consumption" (Niño-Murcia, 2003, p. 122) that can be solely responsible for the improvement of people's lives, in an uncritical way. As explained by Niño-Murcia (2003), it is not the dominance of English in the world today that is questioned, but rather the unsuspecting acceptance of the language as the new *lingua franca*, and the de-contextualized understanding that everyone has access to it – which, in Niño-Murica's view, reflects an overgeneralized account of globalization.

On the other hand, as claimed by Mufwene (2010), "it is legitimate to speak of 'English as a global language,' as this phrase underscores the fact that English has spread geographically so as to serve especially as an international *lingua franca* in various domains, in a way in which no other world language ever has" (p. 47). Moreover, the large number of people who speak and/or learn English worldwide, and the increasing number of people in general who have

access to digital media have brought the result that more and more individuals have contact with the language, *whether or not they can actually use it as a system for communication*. In other words, even if one cannot speak English, one still has access to bits of the language (or resources) that flow across boundaries, such as certain vocabulary, loanwords, and generic styles (Blommaert, 2010), creating a sense that the language is indeed global. Thus, as claimed by Matsuda (2012), it is perhaps best to understand the international status of English as “both *actual* and *imagined*” (p. 3, emphasis in the original).

The second issue relates to the ideologies that are carried together with the spread of English – whether or not one accepts its status as a global language. Debates around this question have been particularly prominent in discussions around language planning and policy, and attitudes towards the language. For instance, Phillipson (1992) and Qiang and Wolff (2005) have argued that English has posed a threat to the national integrity of many countries, acting as a Trojan horse, mainly due to a supposed unwanted cultural invasion of British and American values. As explained by Crystal (2003), purist commentators from several places have “expressed concern at the way in which English vocabulary – especially that of American English – has come to permeate their high streets and TV programmes” (p. 23).

However, other scholars have advanced – mainly through studies that focus on English use in the media – that this perception of a threat from the language is neither universal (even in the places cited by Phillipson, 1992) nor necessarily realistic. Martin (2007), for example, has shown that in spite of the

efforts carried by the French government to regulate English loanwords, evidence suggests that “the French linguistic and cultural identity remains very much intact” (p. 170). Through data collected from French television commercials, magazines, billboards, and interviews, Martin has argued that English in France is actually used as both a global and localized language, often appropriated and refashioned in a creative way (see also Friedrich, 2002a; Leppänen, 2007; Seargeant, 2009; Tobin, 1994, for similar claims about different contexts).

Further support to this local appropriation of English that is suggested by Martin (2007) has been presented by recent scholarship on the uses of the language in pop culture. In a study of Cantonpop in Hong Kong, for instance, Chan (2009) has provided evidence that the use of English in this particular type of music functions beyond a Western symbol of culture and identity. Instead, Chan suggests, code-switching between Cantonese and English in Cantonpop is actually a poetic device that is used with various functions and meanings.

In fact, several scholars have presented pop culture as a powerful site where meanings and identities can be renegotiated and recreated through, amongst other things, English use. Lee (2006), for example, states that the use of English in Japanese Pop (J-Pop) and Korean Pop (K-Pop) “cannot be dismissed as mere imitation, trying to sound like *the other* or to ‘pass’ as *the other*” (p. 236), but are better understood as a “skillful mixing of linguistic sources” (p.236) through which indexical and semiotic meanings are achieved. Lee shows that the use of English in these musical styles many times actually serves as a sociolinguistic tool for the renegotiation of the former colonial roles between

Korea and Japan. Other studies about J-Pop have shown that gender and racial issues are also contested by artists, as exemplified by Japanese female singers who use English to express their feelings in liberating ways that could otherwise not be achieved (Stanlaw, 2000), and the presentation of a Japanese desire for more cosmopolitanism and inter-ethnic approximation (Moody, 2006).

The case of hip-hop, in particular, has attracted much scholarly attention. According to Pennycook (2007), this specific genre sheds light on “globalization, global Englishes, flows of popular culture, and performance and performativity in relationship to identity and culture” (p. 12). For Pennycook, hip-hop authenticity “is not a question of staying true to a set of embedded languages and practices but rather an issue of performing multiple forms of realism within the fields of change and flow made possible by multiple language use” (p. 14). Thus, Pennycook argues, English use in worldwide hip-hop contradicts nationalist theories of linguistic imperialism and instead deconstructs the very concepts of language, culture and place, offering new possibilities of identity construction (see also Higgins, 2003; Pennycook, 2003; Omoniyi, 2006).

Therefore, the examples of pop culture and media language, when juxtaposed with those that insist on the existence of a threat from English, actually show that there is a certain level of conflict in the way English is conceptualized in several parts of the world. For some, mainly purists and at times legislators, it is a language of threat that necessitates regulation; for others, it expresses the possibility of redefining identities in polycentric ways that involve negotiations of the local and the global.

The third issue that I want to emphasize – the conceptualization of English in ELT – also contributes to such conflicting views. In general, it is possible to say that in the past few decades, pedagogical policies concerning the teaching of foreign languages has highlighted the importance of English for international communication, and has many times engaged in the rhetoric that presents ELT as a major educational goal (see, for instance, Hu, 2008; Nishino & Watanabe, 2008; Nunan, 2003; Tarnopolsky, 1996; Zappa-Hollman, 2007). However, as the same scholars just cited show, these policies are hardly put into practice, due to issues of poor teacher qualification, lack of resources, and detachments of the discourses from the realities of local schools, amongst others.

Hence, it is fair to state that conceptualizations of English worldwide are still rather conflictive in several different settings. What becomes particularly meaningful and important for researchers and practitioners, then, is to understand what these conceptualizations can say about language, people, histories, cultures, and educational values. An interesting account, in this case, is presented by Seargeant (2009) about the context of Japan. For Seargeant, the English language in that particular setting is held up “as a tool for accessing the greater world beyond the shores of Japan”, whilst at the same time “reflecting back ideas of Japanese insularity” (p. 133). In other words, the paradoxes presented by the ideas of English (and of languages as a whole) actually reflect tensions that are presented by the new orders of globalization (in this case, the wish open up to the rest of the world versus the desire to remain unique). It is in the explorations of tensions like this and in their interpretation within a larger sociopolitical context

that perhaps lie the major contributions of studies of English conceptualizations, such as the present one.

The case of Brazil

As stated earlier, the literature on GSE in Brazil (and other Latin American countries as well) is not as extensive as that focusing on the same phenomenon in different countries, such as Japan and China, for example. Much of this is due, perhaps, to the fact that the language is still seen and taught in Brazil as a foreign language “by all established criteria” (Rajagopalan, 2010, p. 175), rather than as an international one. Moreover, the problems in the teaching of the language in the country have usually drawn more scholarly attention than the study of its spread *per se*.

However, more recently, several important matters in regards to GSE in Brazil have been addressed, most of which relate to questions raised by the models reviewed above. After all, the language is “spreading like wildfire” in the country and in Latin America as a whole, which means that it will “slowly take roots in these new environments” (Rajagopalan, 2010, p. 175). In this section I briefly review three of the issues in Brazil that seem most tightly related to models of GSE: a) *attitudes toward English*; b) *English as a threat*; and c) *English teaching in regular schools*. I present some studies as examples of how these topics have been discussed in the literature and some of the central claims that have been made. Therefore, this review is by no means intended to be extensive, but rather it is presented as representative of the literature related to the main topic of the present work.

Attitudes toward English. The first focus of investigation worth mentioning is that related to attitudes toward English in educational settings. In an important study of almost 200 Brazilian adult *learners* of the language, Friedrich (2000) pointed out three beliefs that these students held, and that are directly related to questions in WE literature: (a) that English has only two varieties, British and American; (b) that the goal of learning English is to interact with native speakers; and (c) that there is a strong expectation by learners to achieve native-like proficiency. What these beliefs seem to demonstrate is that the supposed superiority of native speakers is still strong in Brazilian ELT, a fact that has affected practices and practitioners in that country (Mello, 2005; Tostes, 2007). Moreover, the unawareness of other varieties of English presented by Friedrich demonstrates that associations of the language with inner circle countries remain almost intact. Friedrich defends that pedagogy needs to be rethought in order to address these issues (see also Busnardo & Braga, 1987; Motta-Roth, 2003), and in a later article (Friedrich 2002b), she emphasizes the importance of having a language pedagogy that prepares students to their encounters with varieties and speakers of English other than British and American, which would be more realistic. This would be in accordance with the valorization of cultures other than those of the native-speakers of the target language, and therefore it would help learners develop positive perceptions about their own cultures and linguistic varieties as well (see also Ferrari & Finardi, 2008; Mesquita, 1999; Mesquita & Melo, 2007; Mott-Fernandez & Fogaça, 2009).

More recent studies seem to show that other scholars have taken these concerns into consideration, and there is a growing number of publications focusing on the attitudes of not only students, but also pre-service and in-service teachers, and teacher educators towards English and the notion of English as an international language (EIL) in particular (e.g., Berto, 2011; El Kadri, 2011; Souza, Barcaro & Grande, 2011). This new literature suggests that some of the main agents involved in ELT in Brazil are willing to learn about notions of English as an international language. However, as argued by El Kadri (2011), many times they can still feel unprepared to address these issues in class.

English as a threat. The issue of imperialism is one that has become a topic of much debate in Brazil not only amongst linguists, but also in the public sphere. The main reason is the proposal of Projected Law #1676/1999, which aims to prohibit the use of loanwords (mainly from English) in Brazilian Portuguese. As explained by Rajagopalan (2005), this bill, as well as others of similar nature, was proposed because many popular movements, politicians, and traditional grammarians have expressed concern that Brazilian Portuguese is “under an imminent threat from English” (p. 101).

Linguists in the country have strongly opposed this argument, and ultimately the projected law itself. The clearest manifestation of such opposition is a book organized by Brazilian linguist Carlos Alberto Faraco, entitled *Estrangeirismos: Guerras em Torno da Língua* [Foreignisms: Wars Over Language] (Faraco, 2001). The arguments developed in the book center mainly around issues such as linguistic prejudice (Garcez & Zilles, 2001; Zilles, 2001),

choice (Fiorin, 2001), and the lack of expertise of the proponents and supporters of the projected law (Bagno, 2001). The overall sentiment of these scholars can be summarized by Bagno's (2000) following claim: "A language does not need to be 'defended,' much less defended from its own speakers, who are its legitimate users and as such ought to have the liberty to do with it what it best pleases them to do" (p. 61) [as translated by Rajagopalan, 2005].

In fact, studies focusing on the use of loanwords in Brazil have suggested that the phenomenon is actually caused by reasons other than imperialism. Friedrich (2002a), for instance, defends that borrowing in advertising and brand naming is actually caused by creativity and linguistic appropriation. In an interview study focusing on the same issue, Assis-Peterson (2008) made similar claims, defending that marks of deterritorialization and transculturality were found in borrowing practices, a fact that relates to Blommaert's theory of the sociolinguistics of globalization, and that opposes claims of imperialism.

Still, as explained by Rajagopalan (2003), the whole discussion over the use of loanwords in Brazil reflects the complex geo-politics of the country, which has been marked by social, political and economic contradictions over the years. This view, according to Rajagopalan, is supported by the fact that the country has developed a love-hate relationship with English, one that reflects a "crisis of national identity" (p. 96) that still deserves further study from an applied linguistics perspective.

English teaching in regular schools. Finally, another concern that has received much attention in Brazil is that of English teaching in *regular schools*

(the equivalent to K-12 in the US). New curricular guidelines for foreign language teaching were established in the country in the late 1990s, and, as explained by Moita Lopes (2003), these parameters demand that teachers critically engage with the complexities of the global spread of English from a local standpoint, something that is highlighted in the WE literature, and that can be addressed from an ELF perspective. However, as Pagliarini Cox and Assis-Peterson (1999) explain, most teachers in Brazil are still unprepared to work with these issues, a fact they were able to confirm in the analysis of 40 interviews with language educators. They argue that there is a sense of alienation from sociopolitical aspects of GSE by these teachers, a claim that has been supported by other scholars (e.g. Leffa, 2001; Siqueira, 2005).

The particular case of public schools has been presented as even more problematic, given the fact that these institutions lack necessary resources for the implementation of effective ELT programs, a concern that is shared by pre-service and in-service teachers, as well as students and parents (see Pagliarini Cox & Assis-Peterson, 2008; Siqueira, 2011).

In fact, the national curricular guidelines themselves have been a target of much disapproval. Some of the most relevant criticism have related to the emphasis given solely to one skill – reading – in detriment of the others, based on assumptions that many Brazilians will never need to use the language for oral or written communication (Oliveira e Paiva, 2011), to the lack of acknowledgement that teacher qualification in Brazil is a crucial issue (Oliveira e Paiva, 2011), and to the delay in including foreign language education in the National Textbook

Program, which is a measure to implement and evaluate textbooks in public schools (Dourado, 2008).

Research questions

Given the purpose of the present study explained earlier – to understand how English has been conceptualized in Brazil since the 1990s, and how such conceptualizations reflect larger sociocultural, political and historical phenomena in the country in the current context of globalization – as well as the literature presented above, the major theme of this research project centers on issues of language as a concept (represented through discourse), language ideology, and how theories of globalization and of GSE apply to the particular context being investigated – Brazil. Therefore, the following research questions were proposed:

1. How is English conceptualized in different domains of language regulation and use in Brazil?
2. What ideologies are revealed by these conceptualizations?
3. How do these conceptualizations and ideologies reflect larger sociocultural, political and historical phenomena in the country?
4. How do theories of globalization and GSE apply to the case of English in Brazil?

These questions should help illuminate the notion of how linguistic phenomena – in this case uses of and ideas about English in Brazil – interact with the ways this particular setting has experienced sociopolitical, cultural and historical processes in the current context of globalization, which should in turn help inform decisions of linguistic matter in areas such as policy and education –

an issue that has become increasingly relevant in applied linguistics (Seargeant, 2009).

Theoretical framework and definitions of main concepts

Language and discourse analysis

The present investigation is based on the theoretical assumptions about language and discourse analysis proposed by Gee (2011a, 2011b). Gee defends that “*language has meaning only in and through social practice*” (2011a, p. 12, emphasis in the original), and that discourse analysis is the study of language in use, tied closely to details of language structure, but with an approach to meaning in social, cultural, and political terms. According to Gee, language is not just a way of saying things, but also of doing things and being something or someone in the world. He argues that whenever we use language, be it spoken or written, we engage in the following seven building tasks:

1. Significance: we usually need to use language to render many things significant (important) or to lessen their significance.
2. Practices: socially recognized endeavors that involve combining actions in a certain way. Example: informing someone about a topic (e.g., linguistics) is an action; teaching a course in that subject is a practice.
3. Identities: we use language to be recognized as a particular type of person, to enact a particular role. This role changes depending on the context and situation in which we are inserted.

4. Relationships: whenever we use language, we build relationships with other people and/or entities (e.g. listeners, readers, groups, and institutions).
5. Politics: when we use language, we present a perspective of what is (or what we want to be) valued in society; i.e. what is considered normal, appropriate, of high or low status.
6. Connections: we use language to build associations between people and things.
7. Sign systems and knowledge: when we use language, we usually value certain sign systems (e.g., languages, a linguistic variety, or even equations and graphs) and certain forms of knowledge over others.

This theoretical lens is adequate for the present research project because it specifically connects language use with the construction of sociocultural, political and historical meanings and identities. The analyses presented in this study, therefore, involve inquiring about “how language, at a given time and place, is used to engage in [these] seven building tasks” (Gee, 2011a, p. 121) – sometimes using the specific tools of inquiry proposed by Gee (2011a, 2011b) for such endeavor, and sometimes using other analytical methods (e.g., content analysis), but still with the same building tasks in mind (see chapter 2).

Language as a concept

The notion of language conceptualization that is used here is borrowed from Seargeant (2009), who states that “we talk not only via language but also

about language; and . . . our use of language is always influenced by the ideas we form of language” (p. 1, emphasis added). Seargeant explains that what we make of language reflects “the ideas we have about ourselves as social beings” and serves as “a metaphor for our manner of participation in social process” (p. 1). In this research project, it is assumed that such discourses involve the engagement with the seven building tasks proposed by Gee (2011a, 2011b), since they are instances of authentic language use. This being the case, the theory of language I have chosen is appropriate for the understanding of language conceptualizations.

Language ideologies

In the present study, “ideologies” are understood as “theories about what counts as a ‘normal’ person and the ‘right’ ways to think, feel, and behave” (Gee, 2008, p. 4). Gee claims that these theories “crucially involve viewpoints on the distribution of ‘social goods’ like status, worth, and material goods in society (who should and who shouldn’t have them)” (p. 4). This view assumes that “We all live and communicate with and through ideology” (p. 29), that is, through theories we have about the world. In order to engage in this communicative process, we need language, which is “always connected to negotiable, changeable, and sometimes contested stories, histories, knowledge, beliefs, and values encapsulated into cultural models (theories) about the world” (p. 29). Hence, the term *language ideology* is used here as defined by Seargeant (2009): “the structured and consequential ways in which we think about language” (p. 26). This understanding is strictly tied to how languages are conceptualized in any society, and consequently to the ways in which the society conceptualizes itself.

The concept of language ideology is further informed by the notion of the “central problematic.” I borrow this term from Tobin (2000), who defines it as a set of tensions, assumptions, reasoning, and concerns that a text can raise but not solve – that is, even in a text that supposedly has cohesion and coherence, there may be conflicts and/or contradictions of which the text itself and its authors are not aware. This notion is needed here because, as explained by Tobin (2000), a central problematic of a text usually reflects a central problematic of a society as a whole. Thus, “what appears to be the neurotic concerns and confusions of individuals are more usefully conceptualized as larger social tensions, problems, and inconsistencies that are felt and expressed at the level of the individual feeling and speaking subject” (p. 21).

Overview of the remaining chapters

The remaining chapters are organized in the following way. In Chapter 2 (*Research Design*), I detail procedures for data collection and analysis, indicating and justifying major decisions, and exposing challenges and limitations. The analyses of the data are presented in chapters 3 (*History, Homogeneity and Other Myths*), 4 (*Reconceptualizing Identities*), and 5 (*Mobility and Empowerment*). Each one of these particular chapters brings an analysis of a particular data set, and an attempt to address the research questions based on that particular analysis. These analyses are tied together in chapter 6 (*Conclusion*), where I also propose the study’s overall contribution to applied linguistics and ELT, and suggest directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH DESIGN

The present research project was qualitative in nature, due to its emergent character – that is, none of its aspects were tightly prefigured –, the interpretive methods used for data analysis, and the focus on sociolinguistic phenomena as it occurs naturally (Dörnyei, 2007). In particular, it was conceived as a case study (Dörnyei, 2007; Hood, 2009), since it involved the investigation of a linguistic phenomenon – *English conceptualization* – in relation to a specific context where it occurs – *Brazil*.

The sociopolitical, economic, and cultural density, as well as the vastness of this specific context may seem to present a concern in terms of the boundedness of the case being considered – after all, Brazil is a large and multifaceted country. Yet it is assumed here that the boundaries and contexts of a case study can be complex and even unclear many times (Hood, 2009; Yin, 2003). In fact, as defended by Yin (2003), a case study “investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, *especially* when the boundaries and contexts are not clearly evident” (p. 13, emphasis added).

Selecting domains of language regulation and use

Understanding how a language is conceptualized in any given society requires a consideration of several domains of language regulation and use. The most thorough account of English discourses and globalization in one single context of investigation of which I am aware was presented by Seargeant (2009). In this book-length investigation, Seargeant was able to construct a meticulous

map of ideologies of English in Japan through the analysis of data from several different sources, including policy statements, academic discussions, promotional discourses from language schools and universities, instances of artistic and pop culture that draw upon English language practices and culture, and interviews with people about their encounters with the language. Through this study, Seargeant brought to the fore questions about the nature of GSE, authenticity, and aspiration as they are discussed in applied linguistics, and used such questioning to critique the notion of a lingua franca usage model.

The present study is somewhat similar to that presented by Seargeant (2009), but this time using Brazil as the case to be studied. However, unlike Seargeant, whose work revolved around the notion of conceptual case studies – whereby a study begins with concepts themselves (such as *desire* or *authenticity*, for example) and then looks for how they are developed in social contexts – my choice of objects of analysis was based on the functional range of English uses, developed by Kachru (1992a)³. This choice was mainly motivated by the fact that there are several domains of English regulation and use in Brazil (e.g., language policy, foreign language education, linguistic landscapes, pop culture, advertising, digital media), which implied that I would have to limit my decision of which ones to address in particular. Kachru's functional range was thus an interesting option that allowed me to restrict my data, without preventing me from bringing a

³ This decision may seem to be in conflict with my previously explained choice not to follow any model of GSE exclusively (see chapter 1). However, the functional range presented by Kachru (1992a) was used solely to guide my choice of *what data to include*, and did not have any influence in *how* such data was either analyzed and/or interpreted.

comprehensive understanding of how the language is conceptualized in that context.

In brief, Kachru (1992a) proposes that English has four main functions in countries where it is not used as a primary language: instrumental, interpersonal, imaginative, and regulative. The *instrumental function* is “performed by English as a medium of learning” (p. 58). The *interpersonal function*, in its turn, can be performed in two ways: either “as a link language between speakers of various (mutually unintelligible) languages and dialects in linguistic and culturally pluralistic societies” (p. 58), or when the language is used to symbolize modernization and elitism. The *imaginative function* relates to the creative uses of English, in literary genres as well as other realms, and finally, the *regulative function* concerns the use of English as a code to regulate conduct (in the legal system, for instance).

In the specific case of Brazil, Friedrich (2001) has argued that three of these functions are predominant: instrumental, which is mainly manifested through the fact that English has been the major foreign language of the country for many years; interpersonal, in associations of the language with modernization and elitism, as well as in international business; and imaginative, expressed in music, lexical borrowings, and other creative uses in general.

Hence, I decided to look for data that was representative of these three functions in the Brazilian context so that I could address the different ways in which English is positioned in each one of them. This search led me to the following domains of English regulation and use: foreign language education,

political discourse, and pop culture – which, as explained in chapter 1, have played a significant part in discussions of English conceptualizations in different contexts. With an analysis of how English is positioned in foreign language education discourses in Brazil, the instrumental function is addressed. The imaginative function is tackled in the discussion of how the language is used in pop culture. As for the interpersonal function, its association with symbolic uses of English as a language of modernization and elitism is given attention in the analysis of how imperialism and threat are associated with the language in political discourses that have attempted to regulate its use.

These domains are also taken as particularly important for other reasons. One such reason is that foreign language education and political matters related to English have received continuous attention in academic circles, as well as in the media, since the 1990s. In the case of political discourse, for example, Rajagopalan (2005) has explained that the debate between linguists and the public at large around the prohibition of English loanwords in Brazil “has so far produced more heat than light”, and “there is no immediate prospect for a negotiated settlement” of the discussion (p. 113). As for foreign language education, the role of English as a worldwide lingua franca has been highly acknowledged and emphasized in the country, as evidenced by the publication of new curricular guidelines for regular schools, and by the growth of private language institutions where the language is taught.

The case of pop culture is no less important. As argued by Pennycook (2010), there is a growing need in applied linguistics to address this domain more

thoroughly, as it is “a vehicle through which local identity is reworked” (p. 66). Therefore, it is “important to understand the roles of pleasure and desire, and the possibilities that pop culture may hold out for new cultural and linguistic relations, and for new possible modes of identity” (p. 65). Pennycook defends that these issues can be very beneficial for language education, as sociolinguistic analyses of language can “inform our pedagogical approaches to language awareness” (p. 82) – a claim that is endorsed here.

Choosing representative data

My inquiries of the three domains centered on analyses of essential discourses – understood here as instances of language in use – that are representative of main discussions and manifestations in relation to each particular area. This initial examination was then aided by the collection of complementary data that could either add in the verification of trustworthiness of the analyses, or bring in new insights for the overall discussion. In other words, the additional data were used as confirming or disconfirming evidence for the examinations of the central discourses.

The domains were organized as follows: domain 1 – political discourse; domain 2 – pop culture; domain 3 – foreign language education. The reasoning behind such organization was that it allowed me to construct a narrative that connected them to one another in a manner that I found logical – in such a way that the findings related to domain 2 are discussed in relation to those in domain 1, and so on. This does not mean that such decision was considered the only possible or reasonable one – it was simply the path that seemed to make most

sense to me. Moreover, this choice did not, of course, influence the conclusions in any way.

Main discourses analyzed

Domain 1: Political discourse. The main discourse for domain 1 was the justification text for “Projeto de Lei 1676 de 1999” [Projected Law 1676 from 1999], which is a bill that aims to prohibit the use of loanwords (especially from English) in any type of public discourse in Brazilian Portuguese, including advertising, mass communication, scientific language, and public events. As explained by Rajagopalan (2005), the Projected Law is representative of the concerns of many popular movements, traditional grammarians, and politicians in Brazil, and it has received much attention from the public and the media since its proposal. For these reasons, it was chosen as the central document for analysis in this domain.

Domain 2: Pop culture. For domain 2, two central documents were used. The first one was the “Manifesto Mangue – Caranguejos com Cérebro” [“Mangue” Manifesto – Crabs with Brains]. Written in 1991, this is considered the founding document of the *Manguebeat*⁴ musical movement that started in Recife – Pernambuco, in the Northeast of Brazil, and that became one of the most influential musical styles in the country since the 1990s. As explained by New York Times music critic Jon Pareles in 1997, the movement was embraced not only in Brazil but also internationally, and it “made Recife a new center of

⁴ The word *mangue* refers to mud-swamp estuaries common in Recife (Crook, 2002).

Brazilian rock in the 1990s while inspiring regional rock scenes across the country.”

The second document was not a document per se, but rather a collection of lyrics from the most important band of the *Manguebeat* movement: “Chico Science & Nação Zumbi” [Chico Science and the Zumbi Nation]⁵. The lyrics analyzed here were taken from the band’s first two albums, which, as stated by Avelar (2011), symbolize the movement as a whole: *Da Lama ao Caos* [From Mud to Chaos] and *Afrociberdelia* [Afro-cyberdelia].

The influential nature and success of *Manguebeat*, coupled with the fact that the movement as a whole uses many words from the English language and centers around a desire to apply global pop ideas into the local culture (Crook, 2002), was the motivating factor for my choice to analyze it in this study.

Domain 3: Foreign language education. For domain 3, two types of discourse were taken into consideration. The first one consisted of private language school commercials that were broadcast in Brazil since the 1990s. Thirty of these commercials were analyzed. The second group was formed by four official texts published by the Brazilian Ministry of Education with the objective of guiding foreign language teaching in regular schools (the equivalent to K-12 in the US, as mentioned in chapter 1). The reason for choosing these two types of discourse was that they encompass the most important and debated spheres of

⁵ In Chico Science and Nação Zumbi, the term *Zumbi* may lead one to the literal English translation *zombie*. However, as will be discussed in this chapter 4, *Zumbi* here refers to the Afro-Brazilian slave leader Zumbi dos Palmares from the 1600s, and not a zombie.

foreign language education in Brazil: ELT in private language schools, and ELT in regular education (public and private). More specific information about the commercials and the guideline documents are provided in chapter 5.

Additional data

Domain 1: Other documents on political discourse. For domain 1 (political discourse), the following additional documents were included for trustworthiness purposes:

- a. A state bill (from *Rio Grande do Sul*) that was proposed with similar objectives to those put forth by “Projeto de Lei 1676 de 1999” [Projected Law 1676 from 1999], and that was approved in 2011;
- b. Four texts from the press in *Rio Grande do Sul* that addressed the issue of loanwords, and that were used by the state bill’s proponent as evidence of its importance.

The inclusion of these documents was based on the fact that they are very recent, thus illustrating how discussions about the use of loanwords in Brazil have been shaping up since the proposal of the federal bill in 1999. Moreover, they exemplify specific occurrences of similar projected laws on a state level.

Domain 2: Other movements and secondary sources. For domain 2, the additional data consisted of discourses – including lyrics and symbolic names – from other musical movements in Brazil (*Axé Music* and *Samba*, more specifically) that have also been influential in terms of Brazilian pop culture, as well as secondary sources (mainly from scholarly work in Latin American

studies) that discuss the many intersections between Brazilian music and globalization.

Domain 3: Interviews with teachers. Interviews with ten Brazilian teachers of English as a foreign language were conducted in the summer of 2011, with the aim of understanding how they felt about messages conveyed by private language institutions through TV commercials, as well as national curricular guidelines and their implementation in the EFL classroom in regular schools. The teachers' ages ranged from 23 to 52 years old at the time of the interviews, and their time of experience teaching English as a foreign language (in different types of institutions, such as regular schools, language schools, and universities) ranged from 4 and a half to 28 years. Five of them were male and the other five female. Nine participants either had an undergraduate degree in *Letras – Inglês* [English] or were in the process of getting one. The other subject was majoring in mathematics at the time of the study. He was chosen to participate because it is usually common in Brazil to have teachers of English who do not have a degree in this particular discipline.

I chose to use semi-structured interviews, which, as described by Dörnyei (2007), has a set of pre-prepared guiding questions, but still “the format is open-ended and the interviewee is encouraged to elaborate on the issue raised in an exploratory manner” (p. 136). The interviews were cued by a video showing a specific language school commercial, and by an excerpt taken from one of the curricular guideline documents.

The main questions asked referred to how they felt about the particular commercial and goals being presented, what message(s) they conveyed, and how these messages positioned teachers and students. At times, participants engaged in the topics of the questions before they were asked, in which case there was no need to repeat the question. In other situations, subjects changed the direction of the conversations in ways that seemed more intriguing than the initial guiding questions, and so that new direction was followed. Finally, when a teacher brought up something interesting in a particular interview (e.g., differences between public and private schools), I decided to ask questions about that same topic to subsequent participants, in order to check consistency of interpretations across them.

All teachers were interviewed individually. I approached potential participants through personal contacts (either I knew them personally, or was introduced to them by people who knew them). I met with each one of them once for the interview, which lasted around 40 minutes overall. The subjects chose whether to be interviewed in English or Portuguese –seven of them chose English, and three chose Portuguese. I tried to maintain a casual, natural style throughout the conversations, instead of a formal pattern. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed with the interviewees' permission.

An important note needs to be made in relation to the issue of transcription. Dörnyei (2007) states that “if we are interested in the content rather than the form of the verbal data”, which was the case in the analysis of the interviews, “we can decide to edit out any linguistic surface phenomena” (p. 247).

This procedure was used in the present study, in order to make the participants' accounts easier to read. Therefore, pauses and hesitations, as well as false starts and word repetitions, were not transcribed, and any surface level language "mistakes" were corrected.⁶ Dörnyei (2007) also states that "in order to create the 'feel' of the oral communication in writing, we need to apply certain writing strategies . . . that will facilitate the intended kind of reading" (p. 247). These strategies include using punctuation marks and dividing speech into sentences. This procedure was also used in the transcriptions of the interviews, as has been done by other scholars (e.g. James, 2010).

Data analysis

Analyses of the main documents

The examination of the central document of the first domain – the justification text for "Projeto de Lei 1676/1999" – was done with the use of the *discourse analysis tools* proposed by Gee (2011b). This decision was motivated by two factors. The first was that these tools were specifically proposed in relation to the theory of language and discourse adopted here (see chapter 1). The second reason was the fact that there was only one main document for analysis in domain 1, which enabled a detailed use of Gee's tools for its appreciation. It is important to make it clear, nevertheless, that not all tools used were necessarily employed in the exact way proposed by Gee – i.e. sometimes the tools were adapted in the

⁶ I am aware of sociolinguistic discussions that question the nature of linguistic "mistakes" (e.g., Bagno, 1999) in language use, but I also know that for some readers, particular norm deviations on a transcript may affect readability and influence how participants are seen; thus, my choice to "polish" transcripts was made to avoid these issues.

ways that I felt were most appropriate for the analysis (which is something that Gee himself suggests). Moreover, at times, conceptual and analytical methods and/or notions proposed by other scholars – such as Tobin’s (2000) understanding of binaries and Bakhtin’s (1981) differentiation between authoritative language use versus internally persuasive discourse – were used in combination with Gee’s tools.

The investigation of the second domain was done through the technique of *text mapping*. This method was originally proposed by Tobin (2000) as a way of analyzing “such rhetorical features as double-voicedness, intertextuality, and citationality” in a text (p. 143). In the investigation of domain 2, this technique was somewhat adapted, as it was specifically utilized with the aim of identifying uses of English in the discourses being analyzed, and of understanding how such uses connected to one another in ways that were meaningful and that related to the objectives of this research project.

The examination of domain 3 was slightly more complex, considering the large amount of data that had been gathered, and the different nature of the discourses taken into consideration. In order to account for such a large and diverse data set, I conducted two *content analyses*: one of the language school commercials, and another of the official guideline texts for ELT in Brazilian regular schools. The choice for using this particular analytical method was appropriate because it allowed me to find recurrent themes and to identify patterns across each of the types of discourse, and then to investigate how these themes related to one another. Both analyses involved the typical processes of initial

coding (to make general sense of the data), followed by second-level coding, where emerging patterns and salient themes across accounts were identified and categorized accordingly (Dörnyei, 2007). They were submitted to external code checks (Lynch, 2003), and the categories were revised when necessary (see chapter 5).

Analyses of additional data

As stated previously, the examination of the additional data was used as evidence to support or disconfirm claims made after the initial analyses (i.e., as a form of checking the trustworthiness of my arguments), and also as a way of further problematizing the nature of the phenomenon under study itself – GSE. As explained by Gee (2011a), any assertion about discourse is more trustworthy “the more it can be applied to related sorts of data” (p. 123), and it is important that the researcher “openly acknowledges” if any supplementary details “support opposing conclusions” (p. 124). Therefore, I looked for specific statements and/or larger excerpts in the additional data that could either confirm initial findings or demand the necessity for further explanation.

Connecting the domains

A key part of the present investigation was the way in which the three domains were connected to construct an overall understanding of the way English is conceptualized in Brazil. There were two main decisions that were very important for the establishment of such connections.

First, there was the actual choice of the main discourses that were analyzed. All of them were either published or broadcast since the 1990s, which

was not only the moment when the process of globalization began to intensify worldwide (as explained in chapter 1), but also a crucial time in Brazilian history: the first years after the re-democratization process – i.e., the years that followed the end of the military dictatorship that had governed the country since the mid-1960s, and consequently the time right after the first general election of a president for over two decades.

Moreover, all of the discourses are *still* influential in one way or another – a final decision about the bill that aims to prohibit the use of loanwords in the country is yet to be made; language schools have become more powerful over the years; the national curricular guidelines are still the main official documents setting parameters for foreign language education; and finally, the influence of *Manguebeat* remains strongly present in Brazilian music and pop culture.

The second decision that was made in order to connect the three domains had to do with the process of data analysis. Once the individual examinations of the three domains were concluded, I developed a general account of how the conceptualizations and ideologies revealed in them either supported or opposed one another. This overall appreciation was done by looking at how such conceptualizations and ideologies, when understood together as one more general “discourse of English in Brazil”, could be explained by theories or notions of discourse and language (e.g. Bakhtin, 1981; Gee, 2011a, 2011b; Tobin, 2000), of GSE in particular (e.g., Blommaert, 2010; Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011; Kachru, 1992b; Phillipson, 1992) and of global studies as a whole (based on O’Byrne & Hensby, 2011).

Limitations

The fact that this research project focused primarily on three domains of language regulation and use means that less attention was given to other spheres that may be equally important for the understanding of how language is conceptualized – such as advertising, brand naming, and translation, to cite a few. Suggestions for how further research on these other domains can be made, and how they may interact with the present study are offered in the final chapter.

Additionally, it must be acknowledged that the interpretive nature of the analyses and of the study overall means that the account presented here is one possible interpretation of the conceptualizations of English as a global language in Brazil. Other interpretations that either complement or dispute the claims I make in this research project are possible, and will certainly benefit not only the understanding of the particular case being examined here, but also of GSE as a whole.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY, HOMOGENEITY AND OTHER MYTHS

“Here in Brazil, our authoritarian past is now being challenged by an ambiguous modernity, with the result that we oscillate between authoritarianism and boundless freedom. Between the two types of tyranny: the tyranny of freedom and the tyranny of exacerbated authority. And sometimes, we experience the two simultaneously.” (Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of Freedom*)

In 1999, Brazilian Congressman Aldo Rebelo, who currently works as the country’s Minister of Sports, proposed a bill (entitled *Projeto de Lei 1676/1999* – Projected Law 1676/1999, henceforth referred to as PL) that aims to prohibit the use of loanwords (mainly from English) in any type of public discourse in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), including advertising, mass communication and public events. As explained by Rajagopalan (2005), the PL, which is supported by many popular movements, traditional grammarians, and other politicians in Brazil, was proposed based on the assumption that BP is “under an imminent threat from English” (p. 101).

The belief of such threat is mainly caused by the growing number of English words that are publicly used in advertising and brand naming in Brazil (Friedrich, 2002a; Thonus, 1991), as well as the increase of English terms that are used in relation to technological processes and advances such as the Internet – the examples given by Rebelo include the words “database”, and the coining of the verbs “startar” (to start), “bidar” (to bid), “atachar” (to attach), and “printar” (to print), all of which come from English vocabulary.

The justification for the PL (a short text of just over 1,600 words in Portuguese explaining the motivation for its proposal) is very emphatic in stating that the use of loanwords (or *foreignisms*, as Rebelo calls them) “does not fit the procedures universally accepted, and even desirable, of the evolution of languages⁷” and that it is caused by “ignorance, lack of critical and aesthetical sense, and even lack of self-esteem.”

As explained in chapter 1, linguists in Brazil have strongly opposed these arguments, and ultimately the proposition itself (e.g., Bagno, 2001; Fiorin, 2001; Garcez & Zilles, 2001; Zilles, 2001). Still, after going through some modifications, the PL was eventually approved by the Brazilian Senate in 2003, and it now awaits further approval by the Chamber of Deputies before a final decision about its promulgation is made. In its most recent version, the text has become more moderate in relation to some domains, such as commercial information, but this moderation does not apply to other social languages, such as the scientific and technological discourses.

It is noteworthy, however, that despite changes in the text of the PL to make it more moderate, its justification has remained the same. In fact, the text was acclaimed by the Brazilian Senate at the time when the PL was approved by this legislative body. In other words, whilst more moderation has been applied at the surface level, the ideologies behind the bill are still strong and perhaps intact.

⁷ All translations from Portuguese in this study were made by the present author, unless otherwise specified.

In the present chapter, I bring a discourse analysis of the text that is used as justification for the PL. Rather than attacking the bill and its justification for their xenophobic motives, and naïve and unrealistic objectives (criticisms that have already been made elsewhere), my aim is to understand how the text reflects ideologies and concepts that exist in contemporary Brazil.

Whilst it is true that other scholars have brought interesting insights in regards to this ideological aspect of the bill (e.g., Rajagopalan, 2003), the analysis I present is important for three main reasons: a) as discussed in chapter 2, the discussions about the use of foreignisms in Brazil are far from resolved; b) scholars such as Rajagopalan himself have emphasized the importance of further exploring how the bill conveys understandings of language in Brazilian society (Rajagopalan, 2005); and c) to the best of my knowledge, the analysis presented in this chapter is the first one that dissects the justification text of the PL with the use of sophisticated discourse analysis tools, and thus my intention is to bring new interesting considerations to the matter.

A discourse analysis of “Projeto de Lei 1676/1999”

The obvious, answer to the question of how English is conceptualized in the PL and its justification is that it is conceived as a threat to BP. Such conceptualization, however, deserves a detailed investigation within the text itself. After all, why is English perceived as a threat? How does the text construct and justify this assertion? What else is revealed by this notion of threat? Is anything left unsaid? These are questions that I seek to answer and discuss in this chapter, as they are strictly connected with the overall objective of the present dissertation.

One crucial aspect of this analysis is that English is analyzed in relation to BP. This is done because of the relationship that is established between these two languages in the justification text itself. My belief, therefore, is that it would be impossible to understand the notion that is built about one language, without understanding that of the other.

As stated in chapter 2, the examination conducted here was done with the use of the analytical tools proposed by Gee (2011b). This analysis is complemented by an investigation of its trustworthiness, through the use of other documents that may validate or disconfirm findings.

Linguistic, historical, and political contexts

In order to understand the full picture of the PL, it is important to consider the context where it was produced; i.e. the setting, and the shared knowledge that is assumed between the producer of a text and his/her interlocutor (Gee, 2011b; Tobin, 2000; Vološinov, 1976). It is necessary to understand this context not as external to the discourse under analysis, but as an “*essential constitutive part of the structure of its import*” (Vološinov, 1976, p. 100, emphasis in the original), where the assumed part is as relevant as the verbalized one. In the case of the justification of the PL, there are three contextual factors that I want to emphasize.

First, there is the relation between Brazilians and the Portuguese language. In Brazil, Portuguese is cherished by many people, and it is understood as a strong symbol of national identity. The ideas that Brazil speaks one single language, and even one single Portuguese, and that the language is a unifier of the country’s almost 200 million citizens are very strong (Bagno, 1999; Massini-Cagliari,

2004). It is noteworthy that these beliefs co-exist with the assumptions that the Portuguese spoken in Brazil is actually wrong when compared to that spoken in Portugal, and that it is very hard to master, as it can only be “properly” learned through the systematic studying of grammar and writing (Bagno, 1999).

Several other factors reinforce this peculiar relationship between Brazil and Portuguese. For example, many grammarians are quite well-known in the country, some of whom appear with a high degree of frequency on the media. Additionally, many issues involving the Portuguese language and its teaching are usually the subject of public debate, as exemplified by the recent controversy in 2011 over the implementation of public school teaching materials that promote the acceptance of varieties other than the standard one.

It is arguable, therefore, that in Brazil, Portuguese is not only an object of love and identity, but also one of power, status, ambiguity, and colonial dependence. It is no surprise, then, that the language has official status in the country, as established by its Constitution, and speaking it is considered a given.

The second aspect of the context that I highlight is the fact that the PL was proposed in 1999, which is the year before the celebration of the 500 years of the arrival of the Portuguese in Brazil – a fact that is actually mentioned by the justification text, but not with much depth, as it is assumed that those who read it know about it in detail. This celebration was overly emphasized by the Brazilian media, and it was understood as a moment of nationalism. Such emphasis started to build up from the previous year (the year the PL was proposed), with countdowns to the exact date of the event – Brazilian TV network *Globo* actually

placed clocks with the countdown around the country. The fact that the occasion was usually referred to as “*Os quinhentos anos do Brasil*” [The 500 years of Brazil] shows the widely-held assumption that the history of the country began with the colonization by the Portuguese.

Finally, there is the fact that the bill was proposed at a time when the privatization program in Brazil was considered strong, and when there was much criticism for deals the country had made with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. As a matter of fact, 1999 was the year after the culmination of these processes, which happened between 1997 and 1998 (Edwards, 2008), and which encountered strong opposition from the Brazilian Left (Fishlow, 2011) – on the grounds that Brazil was handing its economy to foreign institutions.

It is very significant, then, that the Congressman who proposed the PL, Aldo Rebelo, is from the communist party of Brazil (*Partido Comunista do Brasil*, PCdoB, in Portuguese), and is known in the country for being an extreme nationalist, a politician who “defends the interests of the country” and who openly opposes neo-liberalism. This is important here because the proposal of the PL in itself is an opposition to “foreign influence” and an act through which he enacts and emphasizes his identity.

These three contextual factors are used as a point of departure for the understanding of the overall picture of my analysis. I will refer to them whenever I feel that they are necessary to support the claims I make throughout the rest of the chapter.

Subjects, metaphors, and the unsaid

Now that I have made explicit the contextual factors that I find important for the understanding of the PL, I begin the analysis of its justification by looking at the subjects that are used in the text, and what these subjects do (or what is done to them). In all, I have identified 12 main subjects within the text. In this section, I concentrate on 9 of them, since the other 3 (“*Machado de Assis*”, “*French Law No. 94-665, 1994*”, and “*the writing manuals and the major newspaper of the country*”) are discussed later in other sections of the chapter.

The 9 subjects that I discuss now are shown in Table 2 below, with examples of how each of them is used in the document. I also show how these subjects are positioned in relation to the rest of the text and to the linguistic context where they are presented, through theta roles – that is, the semantic roles they play.

At times, the subjects do not necessarily occupy the subject position of their sentences, as some cases have nominalized clauses (clauses that are changed into noun phrases – Gee, 2011b). For instance, when one says “the invasion of foreignisms”, one is nominalizing the belief that “foreignisms invade”; similarly, when one says “the mischaracterization of the Portuguese language”, one is assuming that someone or something is mischaracterizing the language.

Table 2

Subjects of the story told in the justification text

Subject	Example of its use	Role
1. “A História” [History]	“A História nos ensina que uma das formas de dominação de um povo sobre outro se dá pela imposição da língua.” [History teaches us that a form of domination of one people over another is by the imposition of the language.]	Agent; personified: it teaches, exemplifies; used as a neutral subject, omniscient and omnipresent.
2. “Comemorações dos 500 anos do Descobrimento do Brasil” [Celebrations of 500 years of the discovery of Brazil]	“... as comemorações dos 500 anos do Descobrimento do Brasil se oferecem como oportunidade ímpar para que discutamos... a língua portuguesa” [... the celebrations of 500 years of the Discovery of Brazil offer a unique opportunity to discuss... the Portuguese language]	Agent; personified; they offer an opportunity; also, they are part of history, one of its moments, so they are also omniscient and “know” that this is a unique opportunity to discuss BP.
3. “Estrangeirismos” [Foreignisms]	“... a invasão indiscriminada e desnecessária de estrangeirismos” [... the indiscriminate and unnecessary invasion of foreignisms]	Agent; personified: they unnecessarily invade BP.
4. “Globalização” [Globalization]	“... a marcha acelerada da globalização” [... the accelerated march of globalization]	Agent; personified; it marches throughout the world.
5. “O Projeto de Lei” [The PL]	“O Projeto de Lei que ora submeto... objetiva promover, proteger e defender a língua portuguesa” [The bill that I hereby submit... aims to promote, protect and defend the Portuguese language]	Agent; personified; it promotes and defends BP.
6. “Academia Brasileira de Letras” [Brazilian Academy of Letters]	“Academia Brasileira de Letras continuará cabendo o seu tradicional papel de centro maior de cultivo da língua portuguesa do Brasil.” [The Brazilian Academy of Letters will continue to have its traditional role as a major center of cultivation of the Portuguese language of Brazil]	Agent; personified; it maintains tradition and centralizes the “cultivation” of BP.
7. “A sociedade brasileira” [The Brazilian society]	“... a sociedade brasileira já dá sinais claros de descontentamento com a descaracterização a que está sendo submetida a língua portuguesa” [... the Brazilian society already gives clear signs of discontent with the distortion of Portuguese]	Experiencer; it is in the process of feeling discontent.
8. “O jovem brasileiro” [The young Brazilian]	“... atualmente o jovem brasileiro está mais interessado em se expressar corretamente em português” [the young Brazilian is currently more concerned with expressing him/herself correctly in Portuguese]	Experiencer; the “young Brazilian” feels interested.
9. “A língua portuguesa” [The Portuguese language]	“... estamos a assistir a uma verdadeira descaracterização da língua portuguesa” [... we are seeing a real mischaracterization of BP]	Theme. It is mischaracterized, thus it undergoes the effects of the “invasion” of loanwords.

To me, when these subjects are understood dynamically in relation to each other, they can be seen as characters of a “story”: the story, in this case, is the one told in the justification text. It is with this story in mind that I explain the interactions between the subjects presented, and how this relates to the conceptualization of BP and English within the text. When understood in such way, these subjects can be divided into four groups:

- 1) Those who set the scene for the story – “History” and “The celebrations of the 500 years of the discovery of Brazil”;
- 2) Those who play active parts in the story – “Foreignisms,” “Globalization,” “The PL,” and “The Brazilian Academy of Letters”;
- 3) Those who experience the phenomenon – “The Brazilian society,” and “the young Brazilian” more specifically;
- 4) The subject who suffers in the whole story, who is invaded by some and defended by others – “The Portuguese Language.”

The first six subjects in Table 2 are all personified and used as agents of the metaphor that is being constructed – that of the use of loanwords as an invasion caused by globalization. English, as previously explained, and more specifically American English, is directly emphasized as the main language from which such borrowings come. Moreover, all examples of “undesirable” loanwords presented in the text come from this language. These facts suggest that the metaphor being constructed is not simply of a language invasion, but of an American English invasion, one that is strictly tied to the acceleration of the process of globalization, and that brings with it, as the justification text suggests,

“its values, traditions, customs, including the socioeconomic model and political regime.” The metaphor is thus serving as an illustration of a larger socioeconomic, political and cultural invasion.

Interestingly, as Gee (2011b) explains, metaphors “can illuminate things, allowing us to see them in new and useful ways” (p. 47), but they can also “blind us to things they leave out of the picture” (p. 48). The metaphor constructed in the justification text directs the interlocutor to see the use of loanwords in a certain way. By stating that English invades BP, as an agent of globalization, which Rebelo openly opposes, and by personifying the foreign words and positioning them as agents, the author of the text gives them a life of themselves, and detaches them from those who actually do the borrowing: people themselves.

Such detachment is emphasized when these same people are positioned as experiencers of the whole phenomenon, rather than agents. In this case, the people are also disconnected from BP itself (not just from the act of linguistic borrowing), as if its “mischaracterization” happened independently of their actions, and of their agency. Further evidence of such detachment is found through an analysis of other subjects in the text, which, this time, are left unsaid, as in the examples below:

Example 1: “... (*palavras importadas*) *são incorporadas à língua falada e escrita sem nenhum critério lingüístico, ou, pelo menos, sem o menor espírito de crítica e de valor estético.*” [(imported words) are incorporated into the spoken and written language with no linguistic criterion, or at least without the slightest spirit of critical and aesthetic value]

Example 2: “*Como explicar esse fenômeno indesejável. . . ? Como explicá-lo senão pela ignorância, pela falta de senso crítico e estético, e até mesmo pela falta de auto-estima?*” [How can we explain this undesirable phenomenon . . . ? How else can we explain it, if not by blaming the ignorance, lack of critical and aesthetic sense, and even lack of self-esteem?]

Note that in the two examples shown above, there are omitted subjects. In example 1, who is it that incorporates foreign words and expressions? Who is it that has no linguistic criterion? In example 2, who is it that displays “ignorance,” “lack of self-esteem,” and “lack of aesthetic sense”?

These subjects are not omitted for no reason. Tobin (2000) explains that some things are left unsaid “because they are too horrible or dangerous to say aloud or even to think for very long” while others are absent “because the speaker lacks the words or conceptual framework needed to express them” (p. 146). In the case of the text under analysis here, my argument is that these subjects are left unsaid due to the fact that it is the people themselves who are incorporating loanwords into the language. If this were acknowledged, however, not only would the whole justification text become weaker, but it would also acknowledge that language changes are governed by the people who use it, and not by laws such as the one proposed by the PL. The metaphor proposed would then look less like one of *invasion* and more like one of *appropriation*, where “communities turn the language into a manifestation of their own creativity” (Friedrich, 2001, p. 97).

Another important metaphor that conceptualizes things in one particular way and leaves others unsaid is that of “History” *as a teacher*. This metaphor is constructed through two textual strategies: a) the use of the verb *teaches*, with History as its agent subject; and b) the fact that the letter “h” is capitalized in the use of the word, emphasizing its situated meaning as an academic discipline. In this case, “History” is used as what Bakhtin (1981) calls an authoritative discourse, one that “demands that we acknowledge it, that we make it our own” and that is “located in a distanced zone, organically connected with a past that is felt to be hierarchically higher” (p. 342). Therefore, the use of “History” in the text not only invites us to acknowledge one version of history, but actually demands that we accept it as truth. Through the use of this metaphor, the justification text is pointing to a single view of history, one that tells the story of invasive languages that are used to dominate peoples. This is further exemplified in the statement that says “It was so in the ancient East, the Greco-Roman world.”

What is left unsaid, however, is the fact that Portuguese is also a colonial language, one that was used as “a form of domination of one people over another” and that was introduced by Portuguese colonizers who dominated the native peoples of Brazil. It also omits the fact that Portuguese was imposed not only at the beginnings of the colonial period in Brazil, but that it has had a continuous history of linguistic dominance in the country, culminating in the loss of over 1,000 indigenous languages, in the suppression of German and Italian during World War II, and in the continuous discrimination of those who do not speak the varieties that are considered standard (Massini-Cagliari, 2004).

In conclusion, what the subjects, metaphors and things left unsaid show is that BP is conceptualized in the text as a pristine language, one that is not governed by the uses of its people, that is not susceptible to change, but that is vulnerable, and that can be invaded. Moreover, it is conceptualized as a language whose colonial history has been erased, a language that must be celebrated and remembered for its present of supposed peace, rather than by its continuous history of wars, conflicts, and, at the same time, capability of change.

Meanwhile, English is conceptualized as a language linked to American values, a language that is dynamic (as it moves across spaces), attached to outside cultures, traditions, socioeconomic models and political regimes. Therefore, the language brings with it, according to the text, a new history of imperialism, one that disturbs BP's present of alleged peace.

Interestingly, through this juxtaposition of BP and English one will see that in general, for the justification text, languages are not linked to the people who speak them, but rather to nation-states, socioeconomic models and political interests. Concepts such as History, foreignisms and globalization, documents such as the PL itself, and bodies such as the Brazilian Academy of Letters are all given significance by the fact that they are personified in agent positions, whilst individuals are either placed as experiencers of a supposed invasion, or are erased from their roles as language users. Languages in general and BP and English in particular, in this case, are seen as representatives of these larger political bodies (government, nation-state, territory), and socioeconomic systems, and not of the people who use them for communication on an everyday basis.

A closer look at sign systems

The analysis presented above shows that there is a clear binary relationship between what is considered unquestionably Brazilian, and what is “foreign.” In fact, the choice of the word *estrangeirismo* [foreignism] in the text, over *empréstimo* [borrowing or loanword] already establishes that relationship, which is made even stronger by the contrasting roles assigned to English (foreign invader) and BP (marker of native cultural heritage). This differentiation is present throughout the whole text, and is illustrated by the example below:

Example 3: “Que obrigação tem um cidadão brasileiro de entender, por exemplo, que uma mercadoria ‘on sale’ significa que esteja em liquidação? Ou que ‘50% off’ quer dizer 50% a menos no preço? Isso não é apenas abusivo; tende a ser enganoso. E à medida que tais práticas se avolumam (atualmente de uso corrente no comércio das grandes cidades), tornam-se também danosas ao patrimônio cultural representado pela língua.” [What obligation does a Brazilian citizen have to understand, for example, that a commodity “on sale” [term used in English] means it is on sale [term used in Portuguese]? Or that “50% off” [in English] means 50% off [in Portuguese]? This is not only unreasonable; it tends to be misleading. And as such practices mount up (currently in common use in commerce operations in big cities), they also become damaging to the cultural heritage represented by language.]

Such straightforwardness in the way this picture of “native vs. foreign” is portrayed becomes much more complex, however, when one begins to identify

other relations that are constructed in the document in more subtle ways. The use and discussion of the word *caput*, from a sign system other than BP or English (namely, Latin), is a noteworthy case, as presented below.

Example 4: “O nosso idioma oficial (Constituição Federal, art. 13, caput) passa, portanto, por uma transformação sem precedentes históricos, pois que esta não se ajusta aos processos universalmente aceitos, e até desejáveis, de evolução das línguas, de que é bom exemplo um termo que acabo de usar - caput, de origem latina, consagrado pelo uso desde o Direito Romano.” [Our official language (Constitution, article 13, *caput*.) is therefore going through a transformation without historical precedent, since it does not fit the procedures universally accepted, and even desirable, of the evolution of languages, a good example being a term I have just used - *caput*, of Latin origin, established in use since the Roman law.]

As Gee (2011b) explains, different sign systems (languages, dialects, and so on) “represent different views of knowledge and belief, different ways of knowing the world” (p. 136), as can be revealed by the ways in which they are positioned in discourse. When understood in relation to the representation of loanwords from English throughout the rest of the justification text, the way the Latin term *caput* is positioned in example 4 reveals that there is more at stake than simply a “native vs. foreign” relation. Table 3, below, contrasts the positioning of this term with the overall representation of borrowings from English in the text as a whole.

Table 3

Representations of English and Latin

Caput (Latin)	Other foreign terms (mainly from English)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Example of what is universally acceptable and desirable in a language • Illustration of transformation with historical precedent • Established since the Roman Law • Used in the Constitution and other legal texts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not universally acceptable and desirable; • Illustration of transformation without historical precedent (new); • Comes in the production, consumption and advertising of goods, products and services, and by use of computer language • Commonly used in commerce operations in big cities • Compromises communication with simple country man

Table 3 shows that there are interesting conceptualizations of Latin and English being positioned in a binary relationship: “historically established vs. new habit”; “traditional (Roman Law) vs. contemporary”; “used officially (Constitution) vs. used unofficially (Internet and commerce).” In other words, the “native vs. foreign” clash initially identified is not only a matter of territory and cultural heritage, but also one of *history*, *tradition*, and *official status*, which suggests that official, traditional knowledge is taken as the norm, in detriment of popular practice – again supporting my initial claim that the justification text demands that we accept authoritative discourses as absolute truth (Bakhtin, 1981).

Also interesting is the fact that the preoccupation in terms of intelligibility that is related to the use of loanwords from English (that it will compromise

communication with “our simple country man”) is not even mentioned in the case of Latin terms, which in Brazil are generally used in legal contexts to which such country man (as well as many other Brazilians) has no access, linguistically speaking.

It is arguable, therefore, that what is at stake is not the intelligibility amongst Brazilians “from every corner” or the interests of the people themselves, as the justification text suggests, but rather the maintenance of a traditionally conceived, historically established national identity. This view is in accordance with Edwards’ (2009) claim that purist and prescriptivist actions in relation to language are “essentially in the service of *identity* protection” (p. 212, emphasis in the original). It is to the analysis of how this identity is understood that I turn next.

What is meant by identity?

The identity being protected in the PL is considered not only officially accepted, and traditionally established, as explained above, but also homogeneous, territorially defined, and miraculously conceived, as exemplified by the use of expressions like “*imenso território com uma só língua, esta plenamente compreensível por todos os brasileiros de qualquer rincão*” [huge territory with a single language, fully understood by all Brazilians from every corner], “*a sociedade brasileira*” [the Brazilian society, emphasis added], and “*autêntico milagre brasileiro*” [authentic Brazilian miracle].

The supposed invasion of English is thus proposed as a disturber of this miraculous homogeneity, as if it were going to contaminate BP, as well as local values and traditions, and segregate groups. A closer look at the justification

piece, however, will reveal that even within the text itself this view of a homogeneous, mutually intelligible society is contradicted, as clearly shown in the following example:

Example 5: “... não é exagero supor que estamos na iminência de comprometer, quem sabe até truncar, a comunicação oral e escrita com o nosso homem simples do campo, não afeito às palavras e expressões importadas, em geral do inglês norte-americano...” [... it is no exaggeration to suppose that we are about to compromise, perhaps even truncate, the oral and written communication with our simple country man, not accustomed to imported words and expressions, in general from American English...]

English in example 5 is posited as a possible disturber of intelligibility with “our simple country man.” When one raises the question of who exactly will compromise such intelligibility, one will find that the expression “our simple country man” is in binary relationship with at least two other expressions within the text. First, there is the dichotomy of “simple” vs. “imported.” In order to understand this dichotomy, another contextual fact needs to be made clear. In Brazil, what is *imported* (such as an imported car) is usually a sign of wealth and sophistication of individuals with high socioeconomic status. The word *simple*, in contrast, means not only modest, but also unsophisticated, less valued. Hence, the document contrasts, in the same sentence, the “simplicity” of “our country man” with the sophistication of what is “imported” into the country, in this case the loanwords. The binary thus portrays that “the Brazilian society” who is

supposedly so “united” and “miraculously” glued together by BP perhaps is not as homogeneous as the text originally suggests or as its author wishes to believe. It is, actually, a society that is marked by high levels of social inequality between the simple people and those who have access to imported goods, of which English is an example.

Second, there is the binary of “country” versus the term “big cities,” which appears a few paragraphs later in the text to show where loanwords from English are normally used. This binary supports the first, and it adds to it in showing that in Brazil there are different ways of using BP; after all, if the language were so “fully” understood at all corners of the country, how would it be possible to contrast the way it is used in the countryside to the way it is used in the big cities?

Therefore, the supposed homogeneity of “the” Brazilian society suggested by the justification piece is contradicted within the text itself. The way English is positioned within the text actually makes the real heterogeneity of Brazilian society visible, rather than suggesting that English causes such heterogeneity. After all, differences between country men and people from the big cities, as well as those between groups who can afford imported goods and those who cannot existed long before the proposal of the PL. Moreover, as shown by Friedrich (2001), the use of English terms in Brazil “is not an exclusive big city phenomenon” (p. 108), as opposed to what is suggested by Rebelo.

These binaries and inconsistencies within the text constitute one of its central problematics: the unresolved clash between the myth of homogeneity in Brazil, and the current reality of social and linguistic hierarchies that exist in the

country (Bagno, 1999). This lack of homogeneity has already been extensively discussed elsewhere – see, for instance, Friedrich’s (2001) detailed discussion on differences between North and South, public and private. What I am proposing here is that even within the justification text itself, a text that proposes a miraculous unity within Brazil’s territory, it is impossible to deny that immense social, regional, and dialectal differences exist in the country, and that identities are not constructed and enacted simply on the basis of territory.

The contradictions revealed in the text thus reflect one of the dilemmas present in Brazil: a country that believes in its homogeneity in terms of culture and identity, at the same time as it witnesses and tries to deal with its regional, socioeconomic, racial, and linguistic inequalities; a country that is renewing itself, but that has many of its values still based on tradition.

Intertextuality and the enthymeme of language policy

The justification piece makes reference and allusions to several other texts, engaging in what Gee (2011a; 2011b) calls intertextuality, a concept also very present in Bakhtin – in fact, Gee states that Bakhtin “has a great deal to say about intertextuality, though he does not use that term” (2011a, p. 60-61). This intertextuality can happen either directly (through the use of direct quotations from others, for example), or indirectly, through allusions to other texts. Therefore, a useful tool for analyzing the present text is what Tobin (2000) calls “text mapping,” through which one can understand the “citations, allusions, and repetitions of the words of others” (p. 143).

Through text mapping, I identified eight references that are made directly in the justification of the PL. I have excluded two of them because one (the celebrations of the 500 years of the arrival of the Portuguese in Brazil) has already been explored, and the other (Brazilian writer Machado de Assis' text) is discussed later. The remaining six references are presented below.

- Reference 1 – *Constituição Brasileira* [The Brazilian Constitution]: As defined in the Constitution, Portuguese is the official language of Brazil. In the justification text, the Constitution is merely mentioned, but it is done with a very strong meaning: that of giving higher status to Portuguese in Brazil, as opposed to other languages, granting it more sociopolitical capital, at the same time as relying on the law to establish what and how language should be used in the country. Furthermore, by calling for the authority of the Constitution, the document is advocating that language needs legislation, and that a specific law in this regard is already in place and must be followed.
- Reference 2 – French Law No. 94-665, from 1994 (also known as Toubon Law): Rebelo's reference to this law shows his interlocutor that the issue of borrowing is not “problematic” only in Brazil, but also in other countries. More importantly, it shows that other nations have taken measures about the supposed threat of loanwords, suggesting that Brazil should follow suit.

- References 3, 4, and 5 – *Quero a minha língua de volta!* [I want my language back!]; *A ciência de escrever bem* [The science of writing well]; and *O português falado no Brasil: problemas e possíveis soluções* [The Portuguese spoken in Brazil: problems and possible solutions]: None of these three texts is discussed thoroughly, but they are all used as examples of “writing manuals” and articles from major newspapers of the country that have been published, “along with a wide variety of books on the subject, particularly about how to avoid mistakes and doubts in contemporary Portuguese.” They are a way of showing that the preoccupations demonstrated in the PL are shared by professionals who use language as a primary source of their work (i.e. professionals who have the ethos to talk about it). This is important in the sense that it brings a sense of credibility and public representation to the “problem” addressed by the proposed bill.
- Reference 6 – Preface to the *Gramática metódica da língua portuguesa* [Methodical grammar book of the Portuguese language]: The quote taken from this preface is also used to show that language professionals share Rebelo’s concerns. In addition, it helps build the notion of national identity (“How should we want to respect our nationality if we are to neglect the first of what expresses and represents the native language?”), the importance of standard form (note that this is taken from a prescriptive grammar), and the supposed “duty of the Brazilian who cherishes his nationality” to learn this standard form.

All of these references are further examples of authoritative discourses (Bakhtin, 1981), as in the case of “History” presented earlier. The two law texts (Brazilian Constitution and French Law No. 94-665) establish the need to legislate language – to have rules that delineate and limit its scope, and its use. As for the other references, they determine the validity of the PL, and the importance of using Portuguese “correctly,” to cite Rebelo’s own words; that is, in its standard form – *officially* defined, regulated, measured, and disseminated by the state as the only legitimate code (Bourdieu, 1999).

The use of these references in the justification text reveals two enthymemes, which are things that are left unsaid “because the speaker believes that saying them is unnecessary” (Tobin, 2000, p. 146); i.e. their meanings are implied. The first one is the belief that legislators and language professionals are the ones who know what is best in relation to language. The second is that language is best expressed in its standard form. Both of these assumptions are ideological, in the sense that they presuppose theories of what is acceptable, and what is normal. They posit language as a bounded entity, with forms (standard varieties) that are better than others (non-standard ones), and diminish the influence of people over the way language works. In other words, while BP is seen by Rebelo as a representation and symbol of Brazil and its people (a claim he makes throughout his text, as previously discussed), these same people have to abide by laws that prescribe it, and cannot use resources from English or any other language with which they come into contact.

The regulation of loanwords from English or any other language within the country, therefore, is not but one instance of how language planning needs to take place, according to the justification piece: from top to bottom; and this is important in the context investigated here for two reasons. First, as previously stated, there is the myth that Portuguese is a language that is hard to master and that Brazilians do not speak well (Bagno, 1999). The discourse constructed to propose that appropriations made by the people themselves are not only wrong, but also threatening to the country is thus best seen as an assertion that the language still needs regulation by experts and legislators.

Second, there is the fact that at the time of the proposal of the PL, Brazil was going through rapid processes of privatization and economic deals with international agencies, which represented its strong insertion into the new global context. As explained by Bauman (2007), one of the effects of this new context of globalization is that states and politicians need “alternative legitimation of state authority” (p. 15), given their increasingly lower influence on global issues. Considering the symbolism that English has as *the* language of globalization, it is reasonable to argue that the proposal to legislate its use is one attempt to establish such power of the state in Brazil. To put it directly, having control over the global language would almost seem like having control over globalization itself.

Isn't that strange?

The final tool that I bring to the analysis of the justification of the PL is Gee's (2011b) *making strange tool*, where it is proposed that we look for things that might be “unclear, confusing, worth questioning” (p. 12) in a text. As Tobin

(2000) points out, by finding such moments of incongruity or illogic we can usually discover “an unresolved tension or fundamental incoherence that has been patched over” (p. 70). In my examination of the justification text, I identified the following three of these moments of strangeness:

Example 6: “*Foi assim no antigo oriente, no mundo greco-romano e na época dos grandes descobrimentos. E hoje... o fenômeno parece se repetir, claro que de modo não violento.*” [It was so in the ancient East, the Greco-Roman world and at the time of the great discoveries. And today... the phenomenon seems to repeat itself, in a non-violent way, of course.]

Example 7: “*...é preciso agir em prol da língua pátria, mas sem xenofobismo ou intolerância de nenhuma espécie.*” [... it is necessary to act in favor of our native language, but without xenophobia or intolerance of any kind.]

Example 8: Citing Machado de Assis: “*Não há dúvida que as línguas se aumentam e alteram com o tempo e as necessidades dos usos e costumes. Querer que a nossa pare no século de quinhentos, é um erro igual ao de afirmar que a sua transplantação para a América não lhe inseriu riquezas novas. A este respeito a influência do povo é decisiva.*” [There is no doubt that languages are increased and change over time with new needs and customs. Wanting our own language to stop in the 500s is an error similar to stating that its move to America did not make it richer. In this respect, the influence of the people is decisive.]

In example 6, why is European colonization treated as “discoveries”? Why were they “great”? What makes them different from other invasions? Moreover, can “invasion” and “threat” be “non-violent”? What kind of violence are we talking about? Why is it obvious that it is “non-violent”? (Note the use of “of course”). One possible interpretation is that by treating European colonization as a moment of “great discoveries” the document is denying or hiding the violence that did take place in the “discovery” of Brazil, the moment that the country was about to celebrate in the following year. It is as if the text blinds itself and its interlocutors from a moment of violent invasion that is part of Brazil’s history, the moment that introduced the language that the bill wants to “protect” and that Brazilians cherish so much.

Here we have a central problematic that reflects a larger societal conflict in the country: the unclearness about Self and Other. The once colonizing Other (expressed in the Portuguese language) is now (part of) the Self – a part that this Self cherishes and loves. The way history is told (as a great discovery or a moment of conquest) can either justify this love or question it; and the first possibility seems the only alternative for a country celebrating its identity.

In example 7, how is it possible to propose a law that restricts language use (particularly words from other languages) without being xenophobic or intolerant? One plausible interpretation here is that the justification of the PL reveals another central problematic, which is the conflict presented in Freire’s text shown in the epigraph: between Brazil’s “authoritarian past” and its present of “boundless freedom.” Although Rebelo’s proposal is xenophobic and intolerant in

its root, he does not want to acknowledge it, as he does not wish to face the reality that with this policy he is proposing authoritarianism and censorship (things that Brazil has fought so hard to overcome).

Example 8 brings further evidence for this clash between authority and freedom, for the confusion it brings, and for the need to balance an authoritative proposal with the discourse of democracy. After all, why are people blamed for lack of self-esteem and aesthetical sense if their influence is *decisive* in regards to language? Isn't the PL denying the influence of the people? Why is Machado de Assis' passage even cited? My understanding is that the use of Machado's excerpt reflects a contradiction between what should be and what actually is, reflecting a dilemma that is true of Brazil's democracy, and perhaps of democracy itself: How much does people's influence really matter in decisions that are made? How much does their voice really count in the political sphere?

The existence of these contradictions and uncertainties within the same text is an example of what Bakhtin (1981) calls dialogized heteroglossia, which "represents the coexistence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles, and so forth" (p. 291). In the case of the text under analysis here, we have discourses of history, nationalism, democracy, authoritarianism, freedom, and politics – all meeting together in the same short piece. As explained earlier, and discussed here, this meeting reflects some of the conflicts and tensions of the society where the particular text is produced, in this case Brazil.

The use of loanwords from English or any other language, therefore, does not represent a threat; rather, as it was argued earlier, its positioning in the text as a “new danger” that necessitates legislative action actually shows that there are several conflicting issues in terms of how Brazil, as well as Brazilian cultural heritage, is conceptualized in the politics of the country. Resisting English loanwords legally means not only resisting to accept new global values or foreign economic and political models that are being set forth by globalization, as proposed by the PL; but also, and perhaps more importantly, it signifies the resistance to acknowledge the ever-existing heterogeneity of the country’s people, as well as the increasing individual power (in part in detriment of the state’s power) that are becoming more present as a result of globalization.

Trustworthiness: Other documents

In order to investigate the trustworthiness of the analysis presented thus far, other documents were consulted. The first one was a similar bill proposed by state Congressman Raul Carrion, from *Rio Grande do Sul*, which was approved in April of 2011. This projected law is not the only one of its kind. Similar local measures have been advanced at state and municipal levels, as exemplified by State Projected Law 272/09 in *Paraná* (proposed by former governor R. Requião), and Municipal Law 5,033/09 in the city of *Rio de Janeiro*. Differently from what was proposed in the federal PL analyzed earlier in this chapter, these more recent measures did not recommend the prohibition of loanwords altogether, but rather suggested that whenever they are used, a translation of what the “foreign” terms mean must be provided.

In any case, the justifications of those bills are very similar to the one used in the nationwide PL. In the one from *Rio Grande do Sul* (the only to which I have had full access, and therefore the only one used in the present analysis), parts of the federal text were simply copied. Thus, the enactment of a unique Brazilian identity, the examples of other countries that have adopted similar measures, and the personification of history as a resource to build authority were all used in this state document. Moreover, the metaphor created is also one of an invasion, as it happens with the federal PL.

One thing that does differ in the state text, however, is that it acknowledges linguistic and educational inequalities within Brazil more directly, although it still points to BP as a unifier of the country's people, emphasizing the homogeneity of a cultural, national identity, even if other differences are present.

Four other documents used in the verification of trustworthiness were pieces from the local press in *Rio Grande do Sul*, used by the proponent of the state bill himself to present his case as a legitimate one. The first piece, written by a medical doctor called Franklin Cunha, highlights the example of France in “defending” French from the unregulated use of loanwords, and highlights the equation “one language equals one culture⁸” – denying, as the federal PL does, that there is heterogeneity within culture and language use.

⁸ The association of language and culture is not denied here. What is contested is the commonly-held belief that *one* language represents *one* culture, which denies that a language can be connected to many cultures, and a culture can have many languages.

The second and third texts were both written by a famous Brazilian author called Luiz Fernando Veríssimo. Whilst in one of them he simply states that the use of loanwords is “ridiculous” and then questions the state’s capability of enforcing a regulatory law on language, in the other he discusses the issue of power that surrounds the whole matter. In this discussion, he once again explicitly defends his position that borrowing is a “ridiculous” phenomenon, based on his claim that those who name things are those who have the power, rather than the right, to do so.

Veríssimo’s argument, therefore, is that the use of loanwords to name things establishes a process of “linguistic colonization”; that is, a process of domination of one country that has the power to name things over another that does not. This claim made by Veríssimo places the emphasis of linguistic use on the nation rather than on people themselves, in a similar way to what is done in the justification of the federal bill analyzed earlier in this chapter. The power Veríssimo is presenting is that of nations, and not of people who use linguistic signs from any language to convey the meanings they want. Therefore, his text overlooks, as does the federal PL, the notion that power and right are not necessarily a matter of countries and territory, but also one of individuals and their social groups.

The last article from the local press of *Rio Grande do Sul* that was used in the present analysis was written by a linguist called Éda Heloisa Teixeira Pilla. Unlike the majority of linguists in Brazil who have discussed the issue of linguistic borrowing, Dr. Teixeira Pilla supports the legislation over foreign

terms. From a linguistic perspective, her claim is that English words in particular are generated in a linguistic system that is incompatible with that of BP, bringing dissonant ideologies and values into Brazilian culture. Language and culture for Teixeira Pilla, therefore, are conceptualized as bounded systems that cannot and should not receive influences from *outside*; that is, they are understood as entities with clear borders. This notion is similar to that of the federal PL, which establishes language and culture from a territorial perspective, one that defines frontiers between nations, values, and systems.

Although the documents presented in this section do not necessarily present the full picture of the issues surrounding the discussion about the use of loanwords from English in Brazil, my belief is that they are representative of the debates and arguments that have been taking place in the country since the proposal of the federal bill in 1999.

Therefore, it is not unreasonable to state that the analysis presented here is *one* trustworthy way of understanding the issue as a whole, since many of the claims made in the overall analysis of the federal text also apply to bills of local nature.

The scapegoat

In summary, in the PL analyzed in this chapter, English is presented in a binary relationship to BP. More specifically, it is positioned as a language linked to American socioeconomic, cultural and political values, representing ideologies that are not only considered incompatible with Brazilian cultural heritage, but that are also seen as invasive, in that they come without asking for state permission

(although, people themselves are the ones who bring them). Thus, English is posited as a language that disturbs BP's present of supposed peace.

Such understanding is closely tied to theories of Americanization, polarization and linguistic imperialism, which directly reflects a history of feelings of mistrust and inferiority complex that Brazil has had with more developed countries, particularly the United States (Friedrich, 2001; Rajagopalan, 2003). It also reflects ideologies of Brazil as a monolingual country, where language and identity are considered homogeneous, defined based on territory, and in need of protection, as well as an interesting balance between fears of homogenization and heterogenization (Appadurai, 1996) – on the one side, there is the anxiety that on a global level Brazil will homogenize; on the other, there is the apprehension to directly acknowledge the country's already existing heterogeneity.

Interestingly, a closer look at the justification of the PL shows that the alleged homogeneity and unity of Brazil proposed in the document are put into question within that text itself. Moreover, the "native vs. foreign" relationship that is attributed to the juxtaposition of English and BP reveals that the issue of regulating the use of loanwords is also about defending traditionally conceived ideas, and legitimating state authority in a global context where the understanding of such authority has become more and more confusing. The role of history, in this case, becomes crucial in defining what is to be accepted as fact; and the history told by the justification of the PL analyzed here is one that accepts no questioning.

Therefore, English in the justification of the PL is perhaps better understood as the *scapegoat* upon which already existing internal issues in Brazil – such as the conflict between the belief in homogeneity and its actual inexistence, the encounter of tradition with renewal, and the clash between authoritarianism and boundless freedom emphasized in Freire’s *Pedagogy of Freedom* – are blamed. These conflicting issues have become much more evident in the contemporary context of globalization, of which English is a major symbol; a context where power dynamics are changing, new values are being introduced, and we are learning to make sense of it all as we go along.

CHAPTER 4

RECONCEPTUALIZING IDENTITIES

*“In mid-1991, a nucleus of research and production of ‘pop’ ideas began to be generated and articulated in various parts of the city. The objective is to engender an energy circuit capable of linking the good vibes of the ‘mangues’ with the global networks of the circulation of pop concepts. Symbol image, a parabolic satellite dish stuck in the mud.”*⁹ (Fred Zero Quatro, *Manifesto Mangue*)

In the previous chapter, I presented the case of an official attempt to regulate the use of loanwords from English in Brazil, and argued that such an attempt reflects an effort to safeguard traditional conceptions of Brazilian identity, history, and state power in light of the current context of globalization. My argument was that the presentation of English as a disturber of cultural values, in that case, actually showed that such values are not as consistent and uniform as they are believed to be by many circles within Brazilian society.

In this chapter, I analyze a domain where English has been deliberately used with the objective of reshaping traditional understandings and building new identities: *pop culture*. I make the case that although this use of the language may be understood by some as a confirmer of the legitimacy of the worries presented by those who want to control loanword use in Brazil, it actually shows the power that people themselves have to construct new meanings and reinvent cultures. This power, I suggest, reinforces the need to revisit traditional notions of Brazilian cultural homogeneity and history.

⁹ Translated by Crook (2002).

The case of *Manguebeat*

The specific case I bring is that of a cultural movement that came to prominence in the beginning of the 1990s and that started in the city of *Recife* – *Pernambuco*, in the northeast of Brazil. The movement, called *Manguebeat* (sometimes referred to as *Mangue Beat*, *Manguebit*¹⁰ or *Mangue Bit*), sought to unite folk Brazilian traditions – mainly *maracatu de baque virado*, considered “Recife’s oldest, most venerable Carnival tradition . . . , unique to Pernambuco” (Crook, 2002, p. 240) and other northeastern rhythms – with influences from global pop culture.

Musically, this blend translated into a complex arrangement of Afro-Brazilian rhythms with electric guitars and vocals heavily influenced by hip-hop, funk, and soul –establishing a bridge between regional and international genres that had for long been considered separate (Avelar, 2011). Politically, it combined national and international discussions on ethnicity, technology and economic liberalization with the ultimate goal established in the movement’s manifesto: that of making *Recife*, which had recently been considered the fourth worst city in the world by a Washington demographic institute (Crook, 2002), a better place to live.

The movement has been critically and publicly acclaimed in Brazil and in many other parts of the world, and has received attention from scholars in the social sciences as a whole (e.g., Avelar, 2011; Crook, 2002; Galinsky, 2002;

¹⁰ In Brazilian Portuguese the letter *i* represents the sound /i/, in which case *Manguebeat* and *Manguebit* sound exactly the same.

Markman, 2007; Moehn, 2002). Yet, the present chapter is, to the best of my knowledge, the first detailed appreciation of the role of English in particular for the construction of the movement and its concepts¹¹. This analysis is relevant because it brings together two of the major forms of symbolic expression that are part of cultural globalization: language and music (Steger, 2009). Thus, the chapter engages with issues of cultural flows (Appadurai, 1996) that have become increasingly important in applied linguistics and the humanities in general (Pennycook, 2010).

It must be stated that my analysis here is not one of a single document, as the one presented in chapter 3; instead, I examine the use of English in the construction of the concept of *Mangubeat* as a whole. In order to do so, I analyze how the language has been used in the movement's manifesto, as well as in two of the four major records that, as explained by Avelar (2011), epitomize the movement: *Da Lama ao Caos* [From Mud to Chaos] and *Afrociberdelia* [Afro-cyberdelia] by the band "Chico Science & Nação Zumbi" [Chico Science & Zumbi Nation]. My choice to use these albums is driven by the fact that they are the only ones released by Chico Science himself, who is considered "the

¹¹ Markman (2007) has also engaged with issues of language, including English use, in *Mangubeat*. However, that is not the focus of her work; rather, she discusses such use as one of the elements in her overall analysis of the movement. Moreover, when discussing language, she is mainly concerned with the question of whether the use of foreign languages in general in the movement harms the local popular culture manifestations, which differs from the objective here.

definitive measure” of the movement and its success (Avelar, 2011, p. 316), while he was alive¹².

Different cultural movements that were also in evidence in Brazil in the 1990s could have been chosen as my unit of analysis for the present chapter. They include *Axé Music*, from the state of *Bahia*, and manifestations of Brazilian reggae, hip hop, or dance and techno music. My choice of *Manguebeat* was motivated by three main factors. First, there is the broad scope of influence that the movement has received from many of these and other musical expressions, and the close contact it has had with them throughout the years. Second, there is the fact that the movement “effected nothing short of a minor revolution in the canon of Brazilian popular music”, and that “[its] effervescence has not subsided, and Recife remains the most creative and diverse laboratory of pop ideas in urban Brazil” (Avelar, 2011, p. 320). Last but not least, there is the strong personal affinity that I have for the movement and especially for the music of “Chico Science & Nação Zumbi.” The analysis is complemented by a look at how some of the other aforementioned styles also reflect the claims I make about English in relation to pop music and the construction of identities in Brazil.

Local, musical, and linguistic contexts

There are three contextual factors that I find important to highlight in the present analysis. First, on a local level, there is the aforementioned fact that *Manguebeat* was conceived at a time when the city of *Recife* was going through

¹² Chico Science was the artistic name of Francisco de Assis de Franca (1966-1997).

major economic, environmental, and social stagnation, which had led to its post as one of the worst places in the world to live (Crook, 2002). “The so-called progress of Recife in becoming a regional metropolis in northeastern Brazil in the 1960s”, Crook states, “revealed both ecological and economic fragility”, and brought with it “the accelerated aggravation of misery and urban chaos” (p. 242) – with high levels of inflation (which dominated Brazil until 1994), and unemployment. In terms of culture and music, the city, which is known in Brazil for its vibrant scene, had been practically silent on the national level for at least fifteen years in the beginning of the nineties (Avelar, 2011), a fact that contributed to the emerging low self-esteem of the place.

This fact is important because it sets the background from which the ideas of the movement came, and explains the choice of the metaphor that is constructed to conceptualize it. As explained in chapter 2, *mangue*, or mangrove in English, “refers to the mud-swamp estuaries common in the network of rivers crisscrossing Recife” (Crook, 2002, p. 242), to which it is estimated that 2 million species of microorganisms and animals are associated. The movement explicitly linked the biological diversity of this environment “to the social, cultural, and economic realities of the greater Recife area” (p. 242). In the manifesto, it is explicitly stated that just as these estuaries are in need of being re-energized in order to survive, so is the city of *Recife* itself.

Moreover, it is also important to consider that “It is around *places* that human experience tends to be formed and gleaned”, and that contemporary cities are, for this very reason, “the stages or battlegrounds on which global powers and

stubbornly local meanings and identities meet, clash, struggle and seek a satisfactory, or just bearable, settlement” (Bauman, 2007, p. 81, emphasis in the original). Hence, stagnant situations such as the one of Recife in the 1990s can generate new kinds of responses from individuals in the current context of intensified globalization. As explained by Avelar (2011), “Whereas globalization intensified social contradictions in megalopolises such as Recife, it also allowed increasing numbers of marginalized youth to acquire the means to depict that crisis and intervene in it through music and videos in ways previously unseen” (p. 319). *Manguebeat* tried to do just that.

The second contextual factor that I emphasize here is that the canon of Brazilian music in general has been heavily marked by a wave of nationalism, at times contrasted with moments when internationalization has been evoked (Perrone & Dunn, 2002; Stroud, 2008). For instance, whilst it is true that movements such as *Tropicalismo* or *Tropicália* from the 1960s engaged with international genres and languages and gained success and recognition in return, it is also true that many Brazilian musicians – most notably Carmen Miranda in the 1930s, the *Jovem Guarda* [Young Guard]¹³ in the 1960s, and the country’s rock bands in the 1980s – have been either highly criticized for being Americanized, or confronted with questions of originality and cultural authenticity. In fact, Oliveira e Paiva (2005) explains that in many cases, Brazilian composers wrote songs with lyrics in English with the explicit goal of rejecting a Brazilian identity and

¹³ Rock movement influenced by British and American 1960s rock n’ roll artists, such as The Beatles, The Monkees, and The Beach Boys.

simulating an American production, which shows a juxtaposition of “national vs. foreign” similar to that presented in chapter 3.

This clash between a “legitimate Brazilian music” and international influences brings us to the third contextual factor that needs to be understood: *the use of English* in Brazilian popular music as a whole. As shown by Oliveira e Paiva (2005, 2011) and Perrone & Dunn (2002), the use of this language in the music produced in Brazil has clearly reflected the conflict between Brazilian nationalism and internationalization. Therefore, while *Tropicalismo* has engaged with English to represent mass communication and the reality of an urban middle class (Oliveira e Paiva, 2005), *Samba* artists have historically reprimanded the use of the language in the country, mainly in what concerns the lower socioeconomic classes¹⁴. Consequently, the use of English vocabulary by *Samba* artists has mostly been used to criticize or mock the supposed invasion of American music in Brazil. In order to illustrate this point, Oliveira e Paiva (2011) brings three examples that I will also use here (as cited in her text). The first is taken from a song by Noel Rosa in the 1930s:

As rimas do samba não são “I love you”

E esse negócio de alô, alô “boy” e alô Johnny

Só pode ser conversa de telefone.

¹⁴ It is important to note that Samba has traditionally been considered the genre that represents Brazil internally and abroad (Perrone & Dunn, 2002).

[The samba rhymes do not say “I love you”
This thing of hello, hello “boy” and hello Johnny
Can only be a phone thing.]

The second example is also from the 1930s, written by Assis Valente:

“Goodbye, goodbye boy,” deixa a mania do inglês
Fica tão feio pra você, moreno frajola
Que nunca frequentou as aulas da escola
[“Goodbye, goodbye boy,” leave that English trend behind
It is so ugly for you, dandyish brown boy
Who never went to class in school]

Finally, the third example is from the 1980s, by João Nogueira:

Eu num falo gringo, eu só falo brasileiro
Meu pagode foi criado lá no Rio de Janeiro
Minha profissão é bicho, canto samba o ano inteiro
Eu aposto um eu te gosto contra dez “I love you”
Bem melhor que “hotdog” é rabada com angu.
[I don’t speak “gringo,” I only speak Brazilian
My “pagode” (samba) was created in Rio de Janeiro
My job is “bicho” (bookie), I sing samba all year round
I bet one “eu te gosto” (I like you) against ten “I love you”
Better than a hotdog is “rabada com angu”¹⁵.]

¹⁵ Typical Brazilian food.

Oliveira e Paiva uses these lyrics to exemplify the continuous prejudice that has been built in Brazil in relation to who has access to English (in socioeconomic terms). For her, the lyrics explicitly show that the belief that English does not belong to the lower socioeconomic classes has been reinforced by members of these classes themselves. I endorse Oliveira e Paiva's claim and add that the lyrics are also evidence of the suspicion with which English and internationalization have been treated by the traditionally nationalist Brazilian popular music. After all, English in the examples above is not only considered a language that does not belong to "the hills" (i.e. the slums), but also one that does not belong in *Samba* itself; and these are beliefs that, as we will see, *Manguebeat* and other forms of Brazilian music from the 1990s and beyond strongly deny.

What's in a name?

A brief answer to the role of language in general, and English in particular, in *Manguebeat* can be given by looking at the name of the movement itself, where the local environment being depicted (i.e. the city of *Recife*, represented by the image of a mangrove in the word *mangue*) joins the English word "beat" to represent a combination of local and global elements. This statement is in accordance with Galinsky's (2002) short claim that "Chico Science's name affirms the fusion of the local and traditional ('Chico' is a common nickname for Francisco in Portuguese) and the modern and global (the word 'Science' in English)" (p. 2). This straightforward answer is already revealing for one reason; namely, that English is not associated with a particular nation, such as the US, but with a global culture that transcends boundaries. As

stated in the movement's manifesto, those associated with *Manguebeat* are interested in "comics, interactive TV, anti-psychiatry, Bezerra da Silva [Brazilian musician], hip-hop, mediocrity [a mixture of media and idiocy], art, street music, John Coltrane, chance, non-virtual sex, ethnic conflicts, and all chemical advances applied to the alteration and expansion of consciousness." In other words, it is not about this or that place, but rather the range of possibilities that come from the identification with a variety of activities, symbols, and personalities.

Still, it is important to note that this answer to the role of language in the movement becomes more complex once one starts to dig deeper into other subtleties that relate to language use in *Manguebeat*. For instance, although Galinsky (2002) is right in stating that the name "Chico Science" represents a fusion of the local with the global, it is also important to note that the records this artist made with his band were released under the name "Chico Science & Nação Zumbi" (Nação Zumbi is the name of the band that accompanied him until his death and that have continued actively working with *Manguebeat* ever since). As explained by Crook (2002), the word "Nação" indicates a link to Afro-Brazilian religion, whilst "Zumbi" refers to Zumbi de Palmares, a Brazilian slave leader from the 1600s who has been celebrated for his resistance. Thus, the term "Chico Science & Nação Zumbi" brings not only the blending of a local, ordinary, Brazilian "Chico" and a sophisticated, global "Science" but also the symbolism of Afro-Brazilian culture (usually neglected in many circles of the Brazilian society by the "myth of racial democracy" – see Perrone & Dunn, 2002), represented by its religion and one of its main historical leaders. In other words, the global trans-

nationalism represented by English is contained within an imagery of local tradition, history and ethnic resistance.

Creating new concepts

The issue of English and naming does not end here. If in “Chico Science” we have the affirmation of a hybrid *individual*, through the merging of the local and the global, and in “Chico Science & Nação Zumbi” we have the assertion of a pluricentric *group*, through the establishment of a complex relation between locality, globality, and ethnic resistance, then the use of English (and other languages) elsewhere in *Manguebeat* should reveal other interesting relations; and, similarly to the examples just cited, it is in the practice of *naming* that such use happens. As Edwards (2009) explains, names are important identifiers, as they usually establish (self-) descriptions, individual distinctiveness, and group affiliations, suggesting qualitative similarities and differences between people and communities. Thus, as claimed by Bourdieu (1999), “the act of naming helps to establish the structure of [the social] world... There is no social agent who does not aspire, as far as circumstances permit, to have the power to name and to create the world through naming” (p. 105).

In order to investigate this act of naming in *Manguebeat*, I engaged with the technique of text mapping (and in this case, lyric mapping as well) – based on Tobin (2000) – through which the uses of English in the movement’s manifesto and the records analyzed were identified and examined in relation to the building tasks proposed by Gee (2011a; 2011b) and to the overall objectives of the present study. Table 4 shows the instances in which English is used (other than the ones

already mentioned) in the data analyzed, how it is used, and the situated meanings conveyed by those instances in the movement.

Table 4

Use of English in Manguebeat

Word/expression used	English term	How English term is used	What new expression means/refers to
<i>Manguetown</i>	Town	Coining of new word: Mangue + town.	The city of <i>Recife</i> .
<i>Mangueboys</i> ; <i>Manguegirls</i>	Boys; Girls	Coining of new words: Mangue + boy; Mangue + girl.	The participants in the movement.
<i>Mangroove</i>	Groove	Coining of new word: Mangue + groove.	Pun with the word “mangrove” in English. Used to denote the cool rhythm in the movement’s music.
<i>Mateus Enter</i>	Enter	Double meaning: it is used to signify the act of entrance, and the computer key “Enter.”	Mateus is the designation of a character in <i>maracatu rural</i> , a cultural play developed and performed in the rural area of the state of <i>Pernambuco</i> . This character usually <i>opens</i> the play. Similarly, <i>Mateus Enter</i> is the name of the song that opens one of the albums analyzed (<i>Afrociberdelia</i>).
<i>Rios, Pontes & Overdrives</i>	Overdrives	New meaning: city noise ¹⁶ .	Expression is used to describe the city of <i>Recife</i> – a city of rivers, bridges and much noise.
<i>Salustiano Song</i> ; <i>Quilombo Groove</i> ; <i>Interlude Zumbi</i> ; <i>Côco Dub</i>	Song Groove Interlude Dub	No change in meaning or use (Dub is used here as the subgenre of reggae music)	Similarly to what happens in <i>Mateus Enter</i> , elements from local popular culture and/or history are mixed with English words (<i>Côco</i> is a rhythm, <i>Quilombo</i> was a runaway place for slaves during slavery in Brazil, <i>Salustiano</i> is the name of a popular culture artist from <i>Pernambuco</i> , and <i>Zumbi</i> is the name of the slave leader previously mentioned in this chapter).

¹⁶ This meaning was explained by one of the members of “Nação Zumbi” (Jorge Du Peixe) in an interview for *Discoteca MTV* in 2007).

The use of English in the words in table 4 is quite similar to that of the terms *Manguebeat*, *Chico Science*, and *Chico Science & Nação Zumbi* previously explained. However, whereas in these three cases individuals were reinventing themselves, creating their band, and establishing a new musical style, with the words in table 4 they were engaging in a larger process of re-creation. To be more precise, they re-conceptualized their city (*Manguetown* – the city of rivers, bridges and *overdrives*), this city's music (*mangroove*), their colleagues and followers (*mangueboys* and *manguegirls*), and the local popular culture as a whole (which is usually seen through the eyes of tradition and rigidity), with the placement of its leaders (*Salustiano*), historical figures (*Zumbi*), cultural characters (*Mateus*), places (*Quilombo*), and sounds (*Côco*) in an act of engagement with the global that is represented through English.

Therefore, English in *Manguebeat* is positioned as a symbolic language that signifies the intended transformation of local concepts (the city, the people, the popular culture), through their interaction with global icons – a claim that is also made by Markman (2007). Still, the conceptualization of the language goes beyond that in at least two ways.

First, it must be said that the elements of the local popular culture that are used by *Manguebeat* come from manifestations that are peripheral (i.e. from lower socioeconomic classes and marginalized areas) within the city of *Recife* and the state of *Pernambuco*, and ultimately within Brazil as a whole. This fact is important because it shows that the movement deliberately denies the commonplace association of English use with wealthy and/or elitist groups in

emergent countries like Brazil (such as the one presented in the policy text analyzed in chapter 3, and in Brazilian *Samba*, as previously discussed in this chapter). Instead, it seeks to create ways through which these peripheral voices can interact with the language and other global forces in ways that are meaningful, creative, and render visibility, in a world where pop culture has increasingly become a major vehicle of pleasure, desire, and identity negotiation (Pennycook, 2010).

Second, this very denial of the elitism of English positions those associated with peripheral cultures as participants of a scenario that goes beyond *Recife, Pernambuco*, and Brazil – i.e. a global scenario. Thus, *mangueboys* and *manguegirls* are not only citizens of *Manguetown*, and do not only act in this environment; rather, they are portrayed as *citizens of the world*, who interact with the global sphere and act *in the world* through not only their local environment, values, and histories, but also with the appropriation of an increasingly transnational global culture, of which English is a main symbol.

To put it another way, although English is mainly used with a naming function in *Manguebeat*, it is precisely this function that makes the language a fundamental part of the metaphor that is being created in the movement to represent how global information and styles interact with the local environment to create new meanings, possibilities, and identifications. In the use of the language with this function, one sees *identities* of world citizenship and agency being enacted, *connections* and *relationships* between local, marginal manifestations and mainstream, global tendencies being built, and consequently the *significance*

of the local within the global and the global within the local being established (note that English is always used as a resource in *complementary* relationship with Portuguese and other symbols).

It is, therefore, not unreasonable to argue that the use of English in *Manguebeat* goes beyond a matter of style, “coolness” or trend. It is, rather, one of the symbolic ways through which people express their understandings of how the world is changing around them, how they wish to be *part* of this world by appropriating information and styles that were previously considered foreign to them, and how they use such elements to intervene in their local environments and cause change.

These claims are in accordance with Bauman’s (2007) argument that although contemporary cities can be seen as “dumping grounds for globally produced troubles”, they can also serve “as laboratories in which the ways and means of living with difference, still to be learned by the residents of an increasingly overcrowded planet, are daily invented, put to the test, memorized and assimilated” (p. 92). Considering the accomplishments of *Manguebeat* not only musically, critically, and commercially, but also in terms of the marks left in the city of *Recife* and many of its residents (the city today has festivals, carnival groups, and even monuments dedicated to the movement, and it prides itself as having given a new voice to peripheral manifestations in the cultural scene), it is possible to say that, at least in part, the movement has been successful in using its local environment as one of these laboratories.

Another function of English

It is noteworthy that English has a function other than naming in one specific song from the records analyzed – *Sobremesa*, from *Afrociberdelia*. In this song, a whole stanza is sung in English, whilst the rest is recited in Portuguese. This type of process was already common in the previously mentioned *Tropicalismo* movement of the 1960s, where artists such as Caetano Veloso mixed full verses and stanzas in English with others in Portuguese and other languages, combining a mixture of these languages with a fusion of Brazilian and international rhythms.

The case of *Sobremesa* is, therefore, best taken as a further illustration of how some Brazilian artists have opposed the historical traditionalism and division with which Brazilian popular music and identity have been treated by many circles; and, as previously stated and further discussed later in this chapter, this trend has seen remarkable changes over the past few decades.

Trustworthiness: Beyond *Manguebeat*

Further evidence for the use of English with a naming function can be found in other pop culture manifestations in Brazil. Although it is true that such a practice was somewhat common throughout decades¹⁷, it began to be more accepted and more commonly associated with a global awareness in the 1990s. As Stroud (2008) shows, in the past twenty years, nationalist sentiments against

¹⁷ For instance, artists like *Jackson do Pandeiro* (1950s), from *Paraíba*, and *Kid Vinil* (1980s), from *São Paulo*, and bands like *Renato e Seus Blue Caps* (1950s and 1960s), from *Rio de Janeiro*, and *Engenheiros do Hawaii* (1980s), from *Rio Grande do Sul* already had names that made references to words, personalities and places mainly from the United States and the English language.

internationalization in the music of Brazil have become “far less common”, as we have begun to enter an “increasingly ‘globalized’ age” (p. 38).

Perhaps, one of the most notable examples of such a shift in attitude, other than that of *Manguebeat*, are those of *Axé Music*, a musical style from the state of *Bahia*, and one of its most celebrated artists, *Carlinhos Brown*. The significance of the name *Axé Music* lies in its reference not only to English, but also to Yoruba (Moura, 2002) – showing, as the name *Chico Science & Nação Zumbi* does, an awareness not only of a larger global pop culture revealed in the English term *Music*, but also a reference to Afro-Brazilian roots in the term *Axé*. As for *Carlinhos Brown*, not only is his stage name a reference to American singer James Brown and to the consumption of African-American culture in the state of *Bahia* (Lima, 2002), but he also uses a clear mixture of languages in the process of naming his songs, as evidenced by his track *Hawaii e You* (a play with the question “How Are You?”), from his 1998 CD *Omelete Man* (Moehn, 2002).

In fact, Moehn shows that Carlinhos Brown goes even further, and presents a complex mixture of languages and sounds not only in the process of naming, but also in his lyrical style. This is most clearly illustrated by his song *Cold Heart*, also from *Omelete Man*, in which he sings the following verses (the underlined words come from Portuguese and Yoruba):

Io iô és you

My son as you

My sun és you

My som is you

As defended by Moehn (2002), these lyrics show the emergence of a transnationally cultural miscegenation. In other words, they are a clear illustration of how Carlinhos Brown's music is not about being Brazilian, in traditionally conceived ways, but about being of a world that is increasingly mixed; where someone from the periphery (as Brown is) can be Brazilian, African and global at the same time.

This transnational identity is also evidenced in other songs by different artists. As explained by Oliveira e Paiva (2005), one of them is Gilberto Gil's *Pela Internet* – released in 1997 – in which Gil evokes a “cultural syncretism [of] gigabytes and orixás¹⁸, Nepal, Praça Onze¹⁹, and videopoker” (p. 63).

These examples show that similarly to what was done by artists such as *Chico Science & Nação Zumbi*, and the *Manguebeat* movement as a whole, other musicians in Brazil have used English in combination with Portuguese and other languages to express interactions between local and global, traditional and modern, historical and contemporary, and peripheral and mainstream, in ways through which long-established notions of culture and identity are contested and re-invented. Thus, the examples shown here can serve as confirmation to the claims made previously in the discussion on *Manguebeat*.

Still, it is important to note that such a tendency has not been universal. The use of English and other languages in Brazil is still criticized and mocked by other artists. Perhaps, the clearest (or the most commercially successful) example

¹⁸ Divinities from Yoruba mythology.

¹⁹ Region in the city of *Rio de Janeiro*.

of this process is a song entitled *Samba do Approach* by Zeca Baleiro and Zeca Pagodinho, where the last word of every verse is in a language other than Portuguese, as exemplified below:

Eu tenho savoir-faire

Meu temperamento é light

Minha casa é hi-tech

Toda hora rola um insight

Já fui fã do Jethro Tull

Hoje me amarro no Slash

Minha vida agora é cool

Meu passado é que foi trash...

[I have “savoir-faire”

My temper is “light”

My house is “high-tech”

There is always an “insight”

I’ve been a fan of Jethro Tull

Now I dig Slash

My life is now “cool”

But my past used to be “trash”]

As explained by Zeca Baleiro himself (who is not a *Samba* artist and who has used English in other titles) in an interview given to a language institute (CEL LEP) in 2004²⁰, the song is intended to show his criticism of the use of loanwords in Brazil – in a fun, witty way; and, as he states, that is the exact reason why he chose to use *Samba* as the medium for such criticism, given its traditional role and nationalist tone in Brazilian popular music as a whole.

Thus, Baleiro's song illustrates how the claims being made in the present chapter about *Manguebeat* and other styles from the 1990s and beyond do not correspond to all of the Brazilian music of the period. The clash between nationalism and international tendencies continues, even if some attitudes have changed.

Contesting traditional associations

In his brief discussion of Brazilian rap, Moita Lopes (2008) defends that through this particular genre, “English and its discourses are appropriated in identity performances, created and re-invented in the margins”, and thus the language works “based on local histories, not as an imitation of global *designs*, but in the expression of performative identities that did not exist before” (p. 333, emphasis in the original). Thus, he proposes that global English is a “decentralized language”, through which local performances construct anti-hegemonic discourses and create “another globalization” (p. 333).

²⁰ Available online at http://cellepteam.cellep.com/edicao_32/interview.htm (retrieved on March 19, 2012).

The case of English use in *Manguebeat* presented in this chapter supports these claims. As discussed earlier, English is conceptualized in this cultural movement as a language that does not belong necessarily to any particular center (such as the UK or the US), and that serves as a symbolic means through which local constructs are re-created. Moreover, the specific cultural concepts that merge with English in the case of *Manguebeat* come from the periphery, which contradicts commonplace associations of the language with the elites in emerging countries like Brazil, and positions it instead as a mobile resource that can be deployed and recontextualized by people – as presented by Blommaert's (2010) sociolinguistics of globalization.

What I add to Moita Lopes's argument is that the use of English by these peripheral movements and people does not only give them the possibility of creating new performative identities. It also enables them to position themselves as *citizens of the world* – that is, participants and agents whose actions are part of a larger global scenario – while at the same time being citizens of a particular locality. This conceptualization reflects the understandings of globalization in two ways: as creolization, where culture is hybridized; and as the awareness of a single worldwide space (a global village) in which people can act.

Thus, contrary to the ideologies discussed in chapter 3 and also to those put forth by many *Samba* artists (presented earlier in this chapter), the conceptualization of English in *Manguebeat* and in many other spheres of pop culture in Brazil since the 1990s shows a face of Brazil where traditional associations of language and culture with homogeneity and territory are contested;

and it is interesting to see that such contestation comes not from official legislative bodies but from people themselves.

That is not to say that nationalism does not exist in pop culture movements such as *Manguebeat* or *Axé Music*; it actually does. What I *am* saying is that the conceptualization of English in these and other movements shows, at least in part, a wish by people to become active participants of an increasingly global society, as well as their realization that this wish is possible – especially, in spheres such as pop culture and digital media. More importantly, the construction of global citizenship is in dialogical relation to the strengthening of the local culture and the affirmation of a localized identity. Unlike the conflicting nature of the dialogized heteroglossia that takes place in the projected law analyzed in chapter 3, then – where we have discourses in tension – here we see a relation between global and local that is not only harmonious but in fact complementary.

What is perhaps even more interesting to observe is that the reinvention of peripheral popular cultural manifestations of Brazil presented here coincides with a re-invention of Brazil itself. After all, the 1990s was the decade that came right after the re-democratization process of the country, which took place in the 1980s, after over twenty years of a military dictatorship; and it was in that decade that Brazil began to actually envision the possibility of having a stronger voice in the global economy and in world politics.

In order to be able to gain such a powerful voice, economic and social measures were employed, like the implementation of a new currency in 1994, the decrease of poverty levels, and the establishment of welfare programs in the

country. Yet, one area where Brazil has still struggled when compared to more developed countries is in education (Fishlow, 2011) – a realm where knowledge of English and other foreign languages in general has become increasingly important in the current context of globalization. It is to this domain that I turn in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

MOBILITY AND EMPOWERMENT

“For me and for the majority of my colleagues, the idea of learning English was fantastic. We had the illusion that we were actually going to learn to speak English at school, an illusion that was destroyed that same year, when I realized that spending the whole year learning the alphabet would not lead me to the fulfilment of my desire to speak at least some words in the language of the songs that I liked to listen to so much.” (Anonymous teacher, *Narrative 14 – Inglês em escolas públicas não funciona?*)

The above epigraph is an excerpt taken from a narrative that became the focus of an edited book (Lima, 2011), in which sixteen scholars presented their views on the quality of English language teaching and learning in Brazilian public schools. In this excerpt alone, one already finds a number of issues that are interesting and worthy of discussion. For example, the word *illusion* (and also *fantastic*) brings with it the idea of a fantasy that was built in the narrator’s mind, a fantasy that was actually not individual, but collective, since the majority of his colleagues shared it. Interestingly, this same word also anticipates how the rest of the narrative will develop, for *illusion* does not only refer to *fantasy*, but actually a fantasy that turns out to be false.

Another fact that deserves attention in the excerpt above is that in which the narrator explains that he spent “the whole year learning the alphabet.” What is particularly interesting, in this case, is not that this fact is new or surprising, but actually that it is quite common (as is the aforementioned illusion) in the

experiences of many other Brazilian students. As explained by Friedrich (2001), ELT in Brazil “is fraught with challenges and seemingly more failure than success” (p. 117), in both the private and public sectors.

What is more important in the present chapter, however, is the concept of *desire* and what it entails. In the previous chapter, I defended that the use of English vocabulary in Brazilian pop music signified the re-conceptualization of traditional identities and suggested a wish to become part of a larger global culture. In other words, pop culture was presented as a channel through which groups and individuals can re-invent themselves, their spaces, and the scope of their actions. What is evidenced by the excerpt presented above is that pop culture, in this case manifested through music, also *creates* an aspiration for English – a fact that has been increasingly defended by some applied linguists (see Pennycook, 2010).

However, this desire for English is shaped by more than just pop culture alone. In fact, as Seargeant (2009) explained in the case of Japan, aspiration for the language is also strongly constructed by narratives associated with travel, social mobility, and personal fulfilment; and, as shown by Seargeant, it is not unreasonable to say that it is in the discourses of language schools and other educational institutions that these narratives come together.

Analyzing the discourses of ELT in Brazil

Therefore, I begin this chapter with an analysis of how desire for English is constructed in the promotional discourses of private language schools in Brazil. Although such construction is already interesting in itself, I feel that the messages

of these establishments need to be understood vis-à-vis the ways the language is portrayed by governmental documents that guide its teaching throughout regular education in the country (the equivalent to K-12 in the US, as explained in chapter 1), since the contrast between private language institutions and regular schools is usually the topic of many academic discussions (see Bohn, 2003, for instance). Thus, the chapter continues with an appreciation of these governmental manuscripts, and a discussion of how conceptualizations of English in the discourses of language schools and those of official, educational texts relate to and differ from each other.

I acknowledge that the different *nature* of the discourses analyzed here (promotional narratives by private institutions vs. guideline documents) may seem problematic; yet I believe that they represent the way English is understood and presented by some of the most important agents involved in the teaching and learning of the language in Brazil. Hence, a combined examination of them brings an interesting picture of the complexity of concepts associated with English in different instructional contexts – a picture that is crucial to the comprehension of how individuals *experience* the language. Confirming and disconfirming evidence in relation to the claims I make is presented later, when I report on interviews conducted with language professionals in Brazil and their views about ELT in the country as a whole.

Educational and socioeconomic contexts

In a detailed appreciation of the educational status of English in Brazil, Bohn (2003) explained that it was only in 1996, with the establishment of *Lei de*

Diretrizes e Bases da Educação [Bill of Directions and Foundations of Education], that foreign language teaching was re-introduced in the national curriculum of regular education in the country – after a period of over three decades when such teaching had lost ground.

The instituting of this policy was followed by the creation of the *Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais* [National Curricular Guidelines], which serve as orientations for curricular changes in the subjects taught at regular schools. In the specific case of foreign language education, two documents were published initially: one for grades 5-8 in 1998, and another for higher grades in 2000. Although these texts do not have regulatory status, they are the basis for foreign language teaching as a whole at the national level.

As explained in chapter 1, the guidelines have been the subject of criticism by several scholars. Some of the most critical problems pointed out involve questions of discrimination (Oliveira e Paiva, 2011), teacher preparation (Pagliarini Cox & Assis-Peterson, 1999), and materials development (Dourado, 2008). Although some of these issues were addressed in subsequent measures taken by the Brazilian Ministry of Education, the reality is that foreign language teaching in many regular schools throughout the country (both public and private) is still considered inefficient by many scholars, teachers, students and parents.

Concerns surrounding such inefficiency have grown considerably over the years, especially with the strengthening of Brazil as a major worldwide economic and political power, and with the objective that the country has set to increase its investments in education, international partnerships, and technological

advancement. The most recent example of such concern is strictly related to a new educational program, called *Ciência sem fronteiras* [Science without borders], which was established in 2011 with the goal of sending 75,000 Brazilian undergraduate and graduate students (mainly from technological fields) to study at major universities around the world by 2014. As it turns out, one of the biggest challenges since the implementation of this program has been the low proficiency that many qualified students have in a language other than Portuguese, particularly English – as discussed in the recent international meeting of the Brazilian Association of University Professors of English (ABRAPUI – *Associação Brasileira de Professores Universitários de Inglês*, in Portuguese).

This historical inefficiency of ELT in Brazilian regular schools has been one of the main causes for the creation and strengthening of private language institutions throughout the country. In Bohn's (2003) words, since the 1970s, the elite understanding of the importance of English has "created a powerful national language teaching business that spread franchised schools all over the country" (p. 165). In the past 15 years alone, the number of registered franchise language schools in Brazil has increased from 20 companies with around 2,600 units in 1997 (Friedrich, 2001) to 26 companies comprising over 5,100 units in 2011, according to the Brazilian Association of Franchising (ABF - *Associação Brasileira de Franchising*, in Portuguese). Moreover, recent data collected by the ABF show that the language school sector registered a 20.5% rise in earnings from 2009 to 2010 – and it is expected that such high growth rates will continue.

An important fact in relation to the recent increase in these numbers relates directly to the socioeconomic improvement of Brazil since the mid-1990s – caused, amongst other factors, by the end of hyper-inflation with the establishment of a new currency (the *Real* – R\$) in 1994, by the increase in access to personal credit, and by the creation of social programs such as *Bolsa Escola* (later transformed into *Bolsa Família*), which seek to stimulate school attendance in exchange for financial assistance.

Hence, if until recently most students who could afford to attend private language institutions were from the Brazilian elite, nowadays it is the C-class, also referred to as the “new middle class” (see table 5 below) – which has grown from 32% of the population in 1992 to over 50% in 2009, and whose income has also increased significantly – that has been responsible for the boost in educational spending throughout the country. As recently revealed by the Institute of Business Foundation (*Fundação Instituto de Administração*, in Portuguese) – cited by D. Moreira in the website of *Exame* magazine in 2010 –, the C-class’ spending on education has grown from 8%-10% of the family income to 15%-17%, from 2009 to 2010 alone. In practice, these percentages illustrate how the number of individuals who are members of this new middle class have begun to have more access to private institutions in general throughout Brazil; and this increase is largely reflected on language schools in particular.

Table 5

Family income of Brazilian socioeconomic classes

Socioeconomic Class	Income
A-Class	Over R\$ 6329.00 (US\$ 3459.00) per month
B-Class	R\$ 4854.00 – R\$ 6329.00 (US\$ 2652.00 – US\$ 3459.00) per month
C-Class	R\$ 1126.00 – R\$ 4854.00 (US\$ 615.00 – US\$ 2652.00) per month
D-Class	R\$ 705.00 – R\$1126.00 (US\$ 385.00 – US\$ 615.00) per month
E-Class	Under R\$ 705.00 (US\$ 385.00) per month

Note. Data from *Fundação Getúlio Vargas*, based on a report from 2010 (Neri, 2010). Summary available at <http://cps.fgv.br/duvidas> (accessed April, 2012). US Dollar values were calculated based on currency exchange rates in April 2012.

In summary, the facts presented here show three important contextual issues. First, they indicate how public authorities have acknowledged past and present inefficiencies in foreign language education as a whole and in ELT in particular in Brazil, and tried to move forward with the establishment of new policies and practices – many of which have been met with public skepticism and scholarly criticism. Second, they attest to the amount of influence that private language institutions have in the country. In fact, it is arguable that the way English is conceptualized by these institutions shapes overall views, experiences, and attitudes toward the language – including the aspiration to learn it. Finally, they illustrate how the desire for English pertains not only to members of the elite socioeconomic classes, as it may have in the past, but has increasingly appealed to those of lower income; and this is crucial to the understanding of the symbolic power that the language has in Brazilian society as a whole.

Constructing desire

With the objective of understanding how aspiration is built in the promotional discourses of language schools, I looked for television commercials that advertised these types of institution and that were broadcast in Brazil since the 1990s. This choice was based on the multimodal nature of these commercials, which enables them to convey complex messages through images and words combined (Gee, 2011b).

In order to limit my search (due to the high number of these institutions), I began by seeking out advertisements that were available online of the five largest and most widespread franchise schools in Brazil. This choice was motivated by the fact that together these networks dominate 75% of the Brazilian market of franchise language establishments, with over 3,900 units throughout the country, according to numbers of the ABF. Thus, it is possible to argue that their discourses are representative of the overall picture of how English and the desire for it are constructed in commercials of language schools.

A total of 23 commercials of these institutions – either national ones that advertised the franchise as a whole or local ones of individual schools – were found. This initial poll was complemented by 18 other commercials, this time from Cultura Inglesa Schools – “British cultural diffusion centers and the most representative contribution of British English teaching in Brazil” (Friedrich, 2001, p. 129) – and US Bi-national Centers – whose objective is “to promote the good relations between Brazil and the United States while organizing cultural events

and teaching English” (Friedrich, 2001, p. 132)²¹. As Friedrich (2001) has explained, these two types of schools, which also belong to the private sector, play a very important part in the ELT landscape of Brazil. According to recent numbers, the “Culturas” have 151 schools spread throughout the country, and the Bi-national centers have 39 units – most of which, in both cases, are usually highly regarded by the public at large.

Therefore, in total, 41 commercials of Brazilian franchise schools, Cultura Inglesa Schools, and US Bi-national centers were found²². In order to fulfill my objective of understanding how desire was constructed in them, and of providing a picture that could perhaps account for salient patterns across these messages, I decided to engage in an examination of their content through the coding of *major themes* that emerge across individual commercials (as proposed by Dörnyei, 2007).

This decision to conduct a content analysis implied that I would have to exclude 11 of the commercials initially found, due to the fact that they belonged to a campaign that was already represented in the data. In other words, if it could

²¹ Although some could argue that Cultura Inglesa Schools and US Bi-national Centers are franchise establishments as well, due to their economic and distributive similarities, I have decided to follow Friedrich’s (2001) system of classification of these schools, whereby cultural diffusion centers are differentiated from institutions that are franchises per se.

²² After the examination of the advertisements had taken place, I found other commercials. One of them was used for the interviews with teachers that are discussed later in this chapter. Another one – for an online school – is also addressed later in the chapter, as it illustrates an emergent sector of the ELT market. The others were not taken into account, since analysis had already taken place.

be established that two or more commercials were from the same campaign, only one of them was kept for analysis, as their themes would be similar and influence the overall picture I was attempting to construct.

Hence, the final number of commercials examined was 30 – of which 19 were from the 5 biggest and most widespread franchise schools in Brazil, 4 were from Cultura Inglesa Schools, and 7 were from US Bi-national centers. Twenty-four out of them focused exclusively on English, and the other 6 also included Spanish. There was an attempt to have a somewhat balanced number of commercials from different years and decades; however, only 5 of them were from the 1990s, whereas the rest were from the 2000s and 2010s – a fact that was caused by online availability constraints.

The analysis of the content of the 30 commercials was done based on their written and spoken words, as well as their static and moving images. Therefore, the advertisements were coded as a whole, rather than scrutinized based on their distinct elements, since my objective was to provide a general picture of salient themes across them – instead of engaging in more individualized, separate examinations.

At first, such coding led me to the categorization of their *overall* themes (which did not necessarily have to do with desire). Only after that did I look more specifically at those commercials that focused on the construction of aspiration. Thus, the initial coding led to five recurrent themes: a) world belonging; b) opportunity; c) success; d) necessity; and e) teaching methods.

The themes were submitted to external code checking (Lynch, 2003), which involves having a colleague look at the data and recode it using the initial list of categories developed. In the follow-up discussion, this colleague and I felt that there was some overlap in 3 codes: namely, *necessity*, *opportunity*, and *success*. Hence, these three categories were combined into one: necessity – which encompassed the other two. This led to the final 3 categories that were kept in the analysis, which are identified and defined below:

- World belonging - focus on being an insider (or outsider) to global culture and/or to groups associated with this culture. Emphasis on English as a passport or gatekeeper to such culture/groups.
- Necessity - focus on the role of English as *the* necessary instrument that will lead one to take opportunities, achieve success and fulfill their dreams (for example, find a new job, get a promotion, or meet a new boyfriend or girlfriend).
- Teaching methods - focus on methods, materials, technological devices, and teachers who are capable of making a difference in a student's learning.

This new coding scheme was again submitted to peer checking, and inter-coder reliability was met at 87%. Additional codes were also identified, but since they only occurred in individual instances, they did not constitute a unique category. Figure 1 shows the number of times each of the main themes/categories identified in the data is the main focus of a commercial. Examples of how each of the three main categories is portrayed in words are provided in table 6.

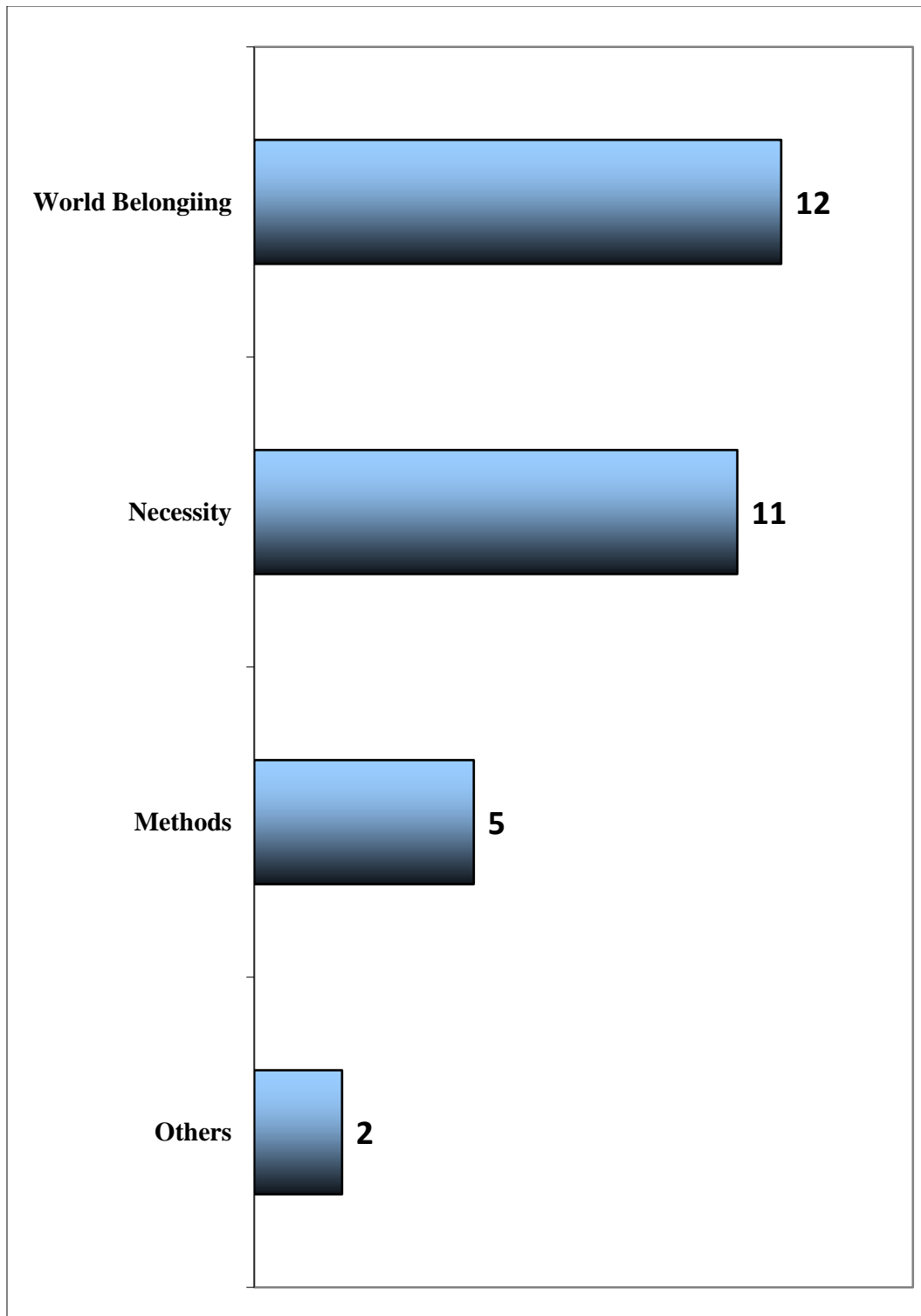


Figure 1. Number of times that each main theme identified is the primary focus of a commercial.

Table 6

Examples of how each main theme addressed in the commercials is portrayed

Theme	Examples
World Belonging	<p>“<i>A hora é essa, o mundo é seu.</i>” [The time is right, the world is yours.]</p> <p>“<i>Você é o que você fala. . . o mundo fala diferente... mude.</i>” [You are what you say . . . the world speaks differently . . . change.]</p> <p>“<i>. . . uma língua que todo o mundo entende</i>” [. . . a language that everybody understands]</p> <p>“<i>. . . ela sabe que para ser bem recebido pelo mundo é preciso estar preparado, quebrar as barreiras do idioma, ter atitude global.</i>” [. . . she knows that to be well received by the world, it is necessary to be prepared, to break the language barriers, to have a global attitude.]</p> <p>“<i>Quando você estuda inglês, você nunca está sozinho, porque em cada canto do mundo, tem sempre alguém como você... (nome da escola), faz do mundo o seu lugar</i>” [When you study English, you are never alone, because in each corner of the world, there is always someone like you . . . (name of school), makes the world your place]</p>
Necessity	<p>“<i>Quem me deu esta oportunidade? Minha agência e meu inglês, é claro.</i>” [Who gave me this opportunity? My agency and my English, of course.]</p> <p>“<i>Quem arruma emprego sem inglês hoje, hein?</i>” [Who can find a job without English these days, huh?]</p> <p>“<i>Inglês, logo você vai precisar.</i>” [English, soon you will need it.]</p> <p>“<i>O sucesso está esperando por você.</i>” [Success is waiting for you.]</p> <p>“<i>. . . oportunidade única para quem quer ter sucesso no mercado de trabalho</i>” [. . . unique opportunity for those who want to have success in the work market]</p>
Teaching Methods	<p>“<i>Melhores professores, melhor jeito de aprender inglês</i>” [Best teachers, best way of learning English]</p> <p>“<i>Na (nome da escola) . . . música também é aula, cinema é aula, arte é aula.</i>” [At (school's name) . . . music is also a class, cinema is also a class, art is a class.]</p>

Of the three main categories identified, only the first two – *world belonging* and *necessity*, which account for over 76% of the total number of commercials analyzed – specifically relate to the creation of desire. In the case of *world belonging*, as illustrated in the examples in table 6, what stands out is the construction of a world space that is collective, but that has barriers which can only be overcome through the use of English. This world “speaks differently” and demands that one change in order to connect to other people in different localities. What seems more interesting, however, is that through the learning of English, not only will one be able to break such barriers and “gain recognition,” which gives the idea of belonging to a global world, but one will also *own* the world (“The time is right, the world is *yours*”; “. . . makes the world *your* place”) – which, Bauman (1998) explains, is a characteristic desire of consumer society, where “consumers have every reason to feel that it is they – perhaps even they alone – who are in command” (p. 84).

As for *necessity*, what is mainly advocated is that with English one will be able to improve professionally, meet new people, and be successful (“What gave me this opportunity? My agency and *my English, of course*”). In this case, similarly to what was reported by Niño-Murcia (2003) and Seargeant (2009) – in the cases of Peru and Japan, respectively – English is “*the* agent of change in people’s lives” (Seargeant, 2009, p. 112, emphasis in the original).

The general impression constructed in both cases, therefore, is that without English one will not be able to have access to the one value that, according to Bauman (1998), is at the center of the current era of globalization: mobility – be it

social, spatial or cultural. As Bauman explains, mobility “climbs to the rank of the uppermost among the coveted values – and the freedom to move, perpetually a scarce and unequally distributed commodity, fast becomes the main stratifying factor of our late-modern or postmodern times” (p. 2). To put it another way, what the discourses analyzed here are saying is that while those who have English will be able to navigate freely across a world that is *theirs*, those who do not know the language will be stuck in time, space, and in their current socioeconomic realities.

Two factors seem particularly important in this picture. The first one is that English is mainly associated with two spaces: a *global network*, which is at a level higher than simply the native speakers of the language, and the *local reality*, since the language provides change and mobility *within* Brazil itself – through career opportunities, and the chance of meeting tourists that come to the country, for example. Thus, English is not located in a distant place that seems unreachable; it is actually *here* and *everywhere, now*.

That is not to say, however, that the association with “English native-speaking countries” no longer exists. It is actually present either subtly or directly in at least eight of the commercials, through the use of images and sounds connected mainly with the UK and the USA – such as Hollywood actors and actresses, references to specific places (e.g., London and New York), and American and British interlocutors. In fact, a recent advertisement for an online school explicitly made such connection by trying to portray that learning with a teacher from California through the Internet was more pleasurable, authentic and effective than learning the language at a regular language school – a fact that

shows that native-speaker ideologies (Holliday, 2006; Phillipson, 1992) are very much alive. Still, in the case of the commercials analyzed here, it is noteworthy that the majority of the messages (even some of those that do link English to the US and Britain) actually emphasize its importance for global citizenship and local necessities rather than its direct link to native speakers.

The second factor that deserves particular attention here is the previously mentioned emergence of a new middle class in Brazil. When discussing the existence of such a class worldwide, Bauman (1998) has made the case that people in this socioeconomic status usually oscillate between the possibility and the impossibility of having mobility. Thus, it is not surprising that the presentation of English as the causer of such mobility by language schools has become increasingly appealing to the public at large in Brazil – a country in which over 50% of the population is part of this new middle class, and where the ELT sector grows almost consistently each year. This factor becomes even more interesting when one considers that this C-class has increased consumption rates not only in the language school sector, but also in air-travel, sea cruises, and automobile purchasing²³, all of which are symbols of mobility as well.

One final note that needs to be made in this section relates to the third category identified in the analysis of the commercials: “teaching methods.” Although this category may not seem directly associated with the construction of desire, it is important for two reasons. First, the necessity and significance of

²³ According to data from *Data Popular*, a research institute that investigates the profiles of the Brazilian C-, D-, and E-classes (as cited by Meirelles, 2012).

learning English that are emphasized in the other two categories are simply taken as a given here. That is, these commercials assume that the aspiration for learning English does not need to be constructed; it already exists. Second, there is the connection of effective English classes with methods and resources that are strictly related to notions of globalization – for example, technological resources such as computers, video-games and the Internet, and entertaining activities involving pop music and films; and these methods and resources are placed in direct opposition to traditional practices and teachers.

What we see, then, is the construction of language schools as modern, up to date places, where ELT is efficient and pleasurable – a picture that is in direct contrast to the many experiences of failure usually associated to English teaching in regular schools. Hence, it is not the aspiration for English which is important here, but the strengthening of the desire for these institutions, which are already seen by the public as places where the dream of learning English can come true.

Official documents

After understanding how English is conceptualized in the messages of private language school commercials in Brazil, and how such conceptualizations are used in the construction of desire for it, I investigated how the language is positioned in the official discourses that guide its instruction in regular schools (public and private) throughout the country. Such understanding is important because it enables a deeper comprehension of how the language is constructed in Brazilian ELT as a whole, and whether concepts related to the aspiration for it –

for example, global citizenship and necessity – are embedded into other discourses. To this end, the following four documents were analyzed:

- *Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais, 5ª a 8ª Séries – Língua Estrangeira* [National Curricular Guidelines, Grades 5-8²⁴ – Foreign Language], from 1998 – Document 1 (**D1**);
- *Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais, Ensino Médio – Linguagens, Códigos e suas Tecnologias* [National Curricular Guidelines, High School – Languages, Codes and Technology], from 2000 – Document 2 (**D2**);
- *PCN+, Ensino Médio: Orientações Educacionais Complementares aos Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais* [PCN+, High School: Complementary Educational Orientations to the National Curricular Guidelines], from 2002 – Document 3 (**D3**);
- *Orientações Curriculares para o Ensino Médio* [Curricular Orientations to High Schools], from 2006 – Document 4 (**D4**).

The first two documents (D1 and D2) were selected due to the fact that they are the main guideline texts proposed for foreign language teaching in Brazil. The other two texts (D3 and D4) were chosen because they have specific sections that serve as important complements to D2 in what concerns foreign language education as a whole, and ELT in particular (Araujo de Oliveira, 2011).

It is important to note that the documents are not exclusively about the teaching of English. D1 and D2 address foreign language education as a whole,

²⁴ Since the publication of these documents, the school system in Brazil has been modified, and year-grade numbers have changed. In the new system, grades 5-8 now correspond to 6-9.

whilst D3 and D4 are even broader in scope, and present issues concerned with the teaching of Portuguese and information technology, amongst other subjects.

Therefore, I did not analyze the texts in their entirety. Rather, I concentrated on the passages that focus on English, mainly those that discuss it *as a concept*; that is, statements that specifically center on this language and its sociocultural, economical, and political conceptualizations. Statements that deal exclusively with linguistic explanations about the language (in relation to its sounds and/or syntax, for instance) were not considered for analysis.

Similarly to the investigation of language school commercials presented earlier, the examination of the four documents was done through content analysis, so that I could provide a picture of themes that were emphasized across the texts. The coding scheme that resulted from such analysis was submitted to external code checking (Lynch, 2003), and inter-coder reliability was met at 82%. Particularities about each text were then sought, in order to account for the way in which the themes were presented and treated more specifically.

The coding of the data led to two recurrent themes: a) *English as a global language*, where statements focused on the role of English as the international language of business, pop culture, the media, and cyberspace, and emphasized the need to understand the local and global manifestations of the language, as well as the importance of forming global citizens; and b) *English as a hegemonic language*, where statements portrayed English as a language of power in opposition to other languages, and highlighted the necessity to raise students' critical consciousness about this issue. Each of these themes appears explicitly in

three of the four documents (D1, D3, and D4 in the first case, and D1, D2, and D3 in the second). Examples of how they are manifested are presented in table 7.

Table 7

Examples of how each main theme addressed in the guideline documents is portrayed

English as a global language
<p>“... o inglês é usado tão amplamente como língua estrangeira e língua oficial em tantas partes do mundo, que não faz sentido atualmente compreendê-lo como a língua de um único país. As pessoas podem fazer uso dessa língua estrangeira para seu benefício, apropriando-se dela de modo crítico.” [...] English is used so broadly as a foreign language and as an official language in so many parts of the world that it makes no sense nowadays to understand it as a language of one country alone. People may make use of this foreign language to their own benefit, appropriating it in a critical way.] (D1)</p> <p>“O acesso a essa língua ... representa para o aluno a possibilidade de se transformar em cidadão ligado à comunidade global.” [Access to this language ... represents to the student the possibility to transform him/herself into a citizen connected to the global community.] (D1)</p> <p>“No caso do Inglês, é importante considerar também que conhecimentos da língua são instrumentos de acesso ao ciberespaço, uma vez que grande parte do vocabulário usual da informática emprega a língua inglesa, idioma que também predomina nos sites da internet.” [In the case of English, it is important to consider also that knowledge of the language is an instrument of access to cyberspace, as a lot of the information technology vocabulary employs the English language, which also predominates on the Internet.] (D3)</p> <p>“Quando professores e alunos ... defendem a necessidade de língua inglesa no currículo em vista do mercado ou das exigências tecnológicas, ou porque essa é o idioma da globalização, entendemos que esses argumentos refletem uma visão realista.” [When teachers and students ... defend the need for the English language in the curriculum due to the market or the technological demands, or because it is the language of globalization, we understand that these arguments reflect a realistic view] (D4)</p>
English as a hegemonic language
<p>“... a aprendizagem do inglês, tendo em vista o seu papel hegemônico nas trocas internacionais, desde que haja consciência crítica desse fato, pode colaborar na formulação de contra-discursos em relação às desigualdades entre países e entre grupos sociais.” [...] the learning of English, in view of its hegemonic role in international exchanges, as long as there is critical consciousness of this fact, may assist in the formulation of counter-discourses in relation to inequalities between countries and between social groups.] (D1)</p> <p>“... o fato de que ... a língua estrangeira predominante no currículo ser o inglês reduziu muito o interesse pela aprendizagem de outras línguas estrangeiras.” [...] the fact that ... the predominant foreign language in the curriculum is English has highly reduced the interest for learning other foreign languages.] (D2)</p> <p>“A influência das tecnologias de informação e do desenvolvimento tecnológico, a hegemonia da língua inglesa, o papel da mídia são fatores que influem sobre a língua no mundo globalizado.” [The influence of information technology and of the technological development, the hegemony of the English language, and the role of the media are factors that have an influence over language in the globalized world.] (D3)</p>

Three issues deserve particular attention in the consideration of these themes. The first one is the fact that English is positioned as a language that does not belong to individual countries, but rather as one that has a more international scope (although there are a few instances when it is acknowledged that the power of the language is connected with the power of the United States). Not only that, it is actually suggested that the teaching and learning of English has the capability of connecting citizens to a larger international community, teaching them about their local cultures, and giving them larger access to cyberspace and technological advances. In other words, the language here is also associated with the notion of mobility.

Second, the treatment of English as a hegemonic language in these documents may seem to oppose its conceptualization as a global entity – in which case the texts may appear to contradict themselves. However, it is important to note that it is made clear in the manuscripts that the dominance associated with the language is something that does not erase its international character, and that must be critically scrutinized in ELT classrooms in order to create counter-discourses “in relation to inequalities between countries and between social groups.” Thus, hegemony and internationalization are placed in a dialectic relationship that is actually seen as complementary, despite being conflictive. To put it another way, whilst it is asserted that English is hegemonic, it is also made clear that people can resist such supremacy by learning and appropriating the language to use it for their own purposes.

The third point that must be made is strictly connected to the first and second ones, in that it has to do with how this balance between international character and hegemony must be addressed in the language classroom. In D1 and D3, it is suggested that students “act as ethnographers” (D1), and engage with the “study of cultural groups (immigrants, rappers, for example)” and the analysis of “the genesis of slang, loanwords, and dialectical variations, as well as the ownership of its [English] use” (D3). As for D2, the text recommends that other languages – like German and Italian – also be taught in regular schools, based on the needs and realities of the students.

What we see, then, is that the idea of English portrayed in these guidelines is one that directly opposes its positioning as a language that is strictly associated with a particular nation and its values, and that must be restricted – as proposed by the projected law analyzed in chapter 3. In this sense, the way English is conceived here may actually be closer to its symbolic use by cultural movements such as *Mangubeat* (discussed in chapter 4), where the language is associated with global citizenship and the construction of anti-hegemonic counter-discourses. Moreover, in the guidelines we have the proposition that linguistic phenomena be investigated socially and politically through education, in order to *empower* students, rather than being tackled through restrictive policies.

The picture I have portrayed thus far may suggest an approximation between the discourses of these educational guidelines and those of private language school commercials discussed earlier. Such approximation does exist to a certain extent. After all, for the most part both of these discourses do emphasize

the necessity for English, its international character, and its importance in the formation of global citizens – which is a very important fact in itself, considering that both of these vehicles play an important role in defining the ways in which people understand and experience the language.

Nonetheless, while in the discourses of language school commercials we have the construction of a world that “speaks differently” and that can only be reached – and in fact *owned* – through English, in the curricular guidelines we find a critical appraisal of the language and of its hegemonic role, and an understanding of its various manifestations in society – in slang, loanwords, and dialectical variations, for instance. This factor in and by itself constitutes a major difference between the two types of discourse analyzed here, and also between the actual suggested practices of regular schools and private language establishments. Furthermore, it is only in the guidelines that the exclusive association between English and the United States and Great Britain is actually *contested*. As previously stated, although this connection is not the main focus or theme of several language school commercials, it is still present in many of them, either openly or subtly.

Such differences are actually highlighted in D4, where it is claimed that the teaching of English in regular schools should address more than linguistic goals, which are usually (although not always) the sole focus of private language institutions. According to this particular document, the emphasis of language teaching in regular schools should also be on the development of social consciousness, creativity, and the creation of dialogues between cultures.

That is not to say, however, that the guidelines present an ideal path for foreign language teaching and learning. As discussed previously, some of them, mainly D1, have been highly criticized by scholars (e.g., Oliveira e Paiva, 2011), mainly on the basis that more emphasis is suggested for reading in detriment of the other skills – namely, speaking, listening and writing. For Oliveira e Paiva, this fact, which is based on the assumption that only a small number of people in Brazil have the opportunity to use foreign languages for oral communication, actually “excludes any possibility of social mobility” (p. 35), rather than enabling it. Moreover, critical, efficient language teaching and learning do not usually take place in regular schools, as discussed by several scholars (see Lima, 2011, for instance). If this were the case, accounts such as the one presented in the epigraph – where students spend the year learning the alphabet and experience a high level of frustration – would not exist, and the demand for private language institutions would not grow as much as it does annually.

Therefore, as explained by Araujo de Oliveira (2011), what we have witnessed in the past few decades is a “clear incoherence between what our laws in relation to language education preach and the cruel reality of foreign language teaching” in Brazil (p. 80). In other words, while official guidelines present a critical, well-founded appreciation of English that highlights issues of mobility and empowerment, classrooms across the country still witness a situation that is far from optimal for actual learning to take place. The problem, then, is that conceptualizations of English in official discourses do not grant successful

educational preparation and outcomes – that is, policy and practice are so far from one another that they have become practically incompatible.

Such incompatibility in relation to the teaching of English in regular schools actually reflects a longer history of incongruence that has perpetuated in Brazil over the years. Whilst many of the country's laws have usually been praised for their democratic values, it is not unusual for the population to wait years before concrete implementations take place. This problem is usually caused by the heavy political process of the country, which often slows down practical measures that cause change (Roett, 2010).

Trustworthiness: The voices of educators

In order to find supporting and problematizing evidence to the claims I have made thus far – in relation to the conceptualization of English and the construction of desire for it in the discourses of private language institutions, as well as to the positioning of the language in official educational guidelines – I decided to conduct interviews with teachers of English with a diverse range of experiences as language educators in Brazil²⁵. This procedure was understood as particularly important for two main reasons. First, there is the notion that teachers are usually considered internal clients of the schools where they teach – that is, many times they may take on and reproduce the discourses of these establishments. Second, they have first-hand experience in what actually goes on

²⁵ It is important to note that the objective of these interviews was not solely of confirmatory nature. However, for the purposes of the present investigation, the answers given by teachers were only used as confirming or disconfirming data for the previous analyses presented in this chapter.

inside schools, thus being able to provide valuable accounts that are based on real life examples, rather than on document interpretation alone.

As explained in detail in chapter 2, these interviews – which were understood as “professional conversations” (Kvale, 1996, p. 5) – were semi-structured, and were cued through the use of materials that directly pertained to private language institutions and official guidelines. In the first part of the interviews, teachers were asked questions that related to a specific language school commercial (other than the ones that were analyzed previously in this chapter). The commercial portrayed a character that feared English and that ran away from situations in which he encountered the language – particularly job interviews, movie cinemas, and places where it was publicly displayed. In the second part, the educators were asked to give their perspectives on the objectives that are set by one of the documents that guide foreign language education in regular schools in Brazil – the document used was D1, discussed and analyzed previously. After the interviews were transcribed, I looked for statements that directly related to the claims made earlier, with the purposes of either confirming or disconfirming them.

In total, ten teachers participated in the study – hereafter they are referred to as participants. At the time interviews were conducted, they all worked at private and/or public institutions (amongst language schools, private and public regular schools, and universities) located in a mid-size city in the northeast of Brazil – with a population of around 400,000 people.

Although there are usually considerable social and economic differences between the north and the south of Brazil (Friedrich, 2001) – the south being wealthier and more developed – this northeastern city is particularly renowned for its importance in the technological landscape of the country (it has actually received international acknowledgement on magazines and venues, such as *Newsweek*, and the *Cité des Sciences et de l'Industrie*, in the *Cultural Center of Science, Technology and Industry* in Paris), as well as for its large festivals, which generally attract several national and international tourists in specific times of the year. These are important facts because they show that the particular locality where the participants work is one that has continuously interacted with larger global communities, either through educational partnerships – the city receives many students and professors from several countries yearly, and usually sends university pupils to study and work abroad – or through tourism.

There is considerable variation in terms of the participants' experiences, both in regards to time and to the places where they have worked. They were all interviewed individually, and later labeled with a number in order to protect their anonymity. Detailed information about the procedures used for the interviews, and general profile information about the participants were presented in chapter 2, and thus it will not be repeated here.

Three issues deserve special consideration in relation to the participants' accounts: a) the contradictions of mobility and empowerment; b) the questioning of the international ownership of English; and c) the treatment of English as a subject in regular schools. Each of them is explained and detailed below.

The contradictions of mobility and empowerment

From participants' accounts, it was possible to find confirming evidence for the perceived role that English has as a language of mobility. Eight participants discussed this role specifically, and presented views that align with the association of the language with movement across physical and social spaces, both within Brazil and internationally. This connotation is illustrated in the comments presented below²⁶.

Comment 1: "I think that many people in Brazil don't learn English because they like the culture and everything, they learn it because they need it for their work." (Participant 3)

Comment 2: "There are some students, my wife's friends, who are moving to Norway... they are going to stay there for a year. Norway, can you imagine that? And who can speak Norwegian in Brazil? And they don't speak Portuguese there either, so . . ." (Participant 1)

Comment 3: "Most of the people are losing opportunities for jobs and things like that because they don't know English. So they are going to English schools to learn English because they are becoming aware of its importance. Let me give you an example. I have a student who is in his first semester. He is a beginner, and he's a police officer. And you know we are going to have two important sports events. We are going to have the World Cup in 2014, and we are going to have the Olympic Games in

²⁶ As explained in chapter 2, participants chose whether to be interviewed in English or Portuguese. Three of them decided to use Portuguese. Their answers were translated for reporting purposes in this chapter.

2016. And he told me . . . that if he learns English by 2014, he will get a promotion to spend the period of the competition in different states to help, because they need policemen who speak English.” (Participant 4)

Comment 4: “Students need to learn English . . . they need to know what is going on, and they need the language to participate in society.”

(Participant 2)

All of these comments are good examples of how English has been perceived as a necessary language that enables more access both locally and internationally. In comments 2 and 3, more specifically, this access is materialized through the importance of the language as a lingua franca both outside and inside of Brazil – a fact that has grown in emphasis with the increase in the number of people who can travel abroad for pleasure and study, and with the coming of two of the most significant international sports events to the country.

This issue of movement does not end there, however. In fact, it becomes more complex when other claims made by participants are taken into account. These other statements show that English and mobility are actually more closely associated with specific groups of people (defined based on socioeconomic and professional status) than they are to others. Such associations are particularly evident in comments 5 through 9 below.

Comment 5: “You know that the school I work for [private language institution] has lots of students who can afford traveling abroad, and many students go.” (Participant 1)

Comment 6: “*Most of our students [from private language institution] have to study because they are doing their masters or their doctorate tests, and they need to know the English grammar. And also, many of them are really interested in getting to know other countries, other cultures. They have seminars in the United States, in Canada, so they need to understand it.*” (Participant 5)

Comment 7: “*Even those who are from the lowest classes are familiar with the idea that you need to learn English. They see it on TV, they see it on the news. I think it’s really something global.*” (Participant 5)

Comment 8: “*The students [from public schools] think they will never travel to a foreign country, so they do not need to speak a foreign language . . . some of them have a very low perspective in life, so they don’t think ‘ah, but I’m going to get a job in which I’m going to interact in English,’ they do not have this perspective.*” (Participant 7)

Comment 9: “[Impersonating student from public school] . . . *why the heck do I want to learn English if I am never going to leave Brazil?*” (Participant 10)

What we see in comments 5 through 9 is the juxtaposition of those who study English for legitimate interests and who “can afford traveling abroad”, and those who “will never travel to a foreign country” and that see the need to study the language only on television rather than in their real lives. Thus, mobility is not only associated with the language in the sense that those who master it will gain the ability to move across social and physical spaces – as suggested by the

language commercials and official guidelines previously analyzed. Many times, it actually precedes the very possibility of learning it – that is, you will only have a real objective to study English, and a real chance to learn it if you have mobility in the first place. When understood in this way, English loses the influence that it may have to empower many students (mainly those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds) and connect them to a larger global community, and instead becomes one more product that distances such community from them.

This does not mean that the desire for English does not exist when it comes to students of lower socioeconomic status – as it may be implied by comment 9 and comparable comments made by a few participants. After all, many students from similar backgrounds do aspire to learn the language – which is the case of the narrator of the epigraph of this chapter and his former classmates. What it does mean, unfortunately, is that such aspiration is many times undermined not only by the poor conditions of ELT in several institutions throughout Brazil, but also by the commonplace belief that it is only those who already have economic power and access to mobility who have a legitimate objective in learning the language. As Bauman (1998) explains, “To desire is not enough; to make the desire truly desirable, and so to draw the pleasure from the desire, one must have a reasonable hope of getting closer to the desired object” (pp. 85-86).

Questioning international ownership

The second issue that deserves particular attention in relation to the participants’ accounts actually relates to this first one of mobility, and it has to do

with the use of English as a language of *international* communication and scope. The question here is that several students (and many times teachers as well) still do not see the language as one that belongs to a *global community* or that can belong to themselves, but rather as one that is distant and that pertains exclusively (or at least mainly) to the USA and the UK. This perspective, although not universal amongst the participants interviewed, was very strong in the narratives of eight teachers. Some of the comments made are illustrated below.

Comment 10: “We don’t usually say ‘yeah, you are going to learn English so you can go to Japan, you can go to Paris . . .’ We usually say that they are going to get their ideas across very well in English speaking countries.” (Participant 5)

Comment 11: “The teachers try to pass this idea to students in the listening activities they bring. They bring Indian English... for students, this is unreal, what they think about is the United States.” (Participant 9)

Comment 12: “People tend to associate it [English] to Americans and the US, right? We do not think other countries speak English.” (Participant 7)

Comment 13: “I think when people think of speaking English, they usually think of the United States, or British English. So when you go to a language school, from what I have seen, the school itself says North-American English or British English.” (Participant 10)

Comments 10 through 13 show that the perspective of English as a language that can connect people to a *global* community, and that is also very present in the *local* needs of people in Brazil, is not one that has been adopted by

students in general, who still see it as a propriety of countries like the United States and Great Britain. Such understanding clearly relates to Friedrich's (2000) claim that for Brazilians, English still only has two varieties: British and American. It also echoes Matsuda's (2003) claim that the view of English as an international language is actually not widespread amongst the actual learners and users of it in contexts where the language is not acquired as a first language.

This fact is particularly relevant when one considers the objectives of national curricular guidelines, which directly contest the notion of English belonging to specific countries only, and propose educational goals that stimulate a more pluralistic and inclusive notion of the language. Even though it is true that some teachers have attempted to put these goals into practice – as exemplified in comment 11, where examples of Indian English were brought to class –, it seems that perceptions of English as a language of the US and the UK have not changed much (or at all) since the publication of the very first guidelines for foreign language education in Brazil, in 1998. This issue may contribute to the distancing of several students from English, which, as discussed earlier, affects possibilities of mobility and empowerment through the language.

It is also important to consider that although many of the language school commercials analyzed previously in this chapter do not focus specifically on the associations of English with the US or the UK, it is still the case that several of these institutions hold these connections, by stating that they teach “British English” or “American English” – as pointed out by Participant 10 in comment 13. Considering the power that such establishments have in the Brazilian ELT

landscape, it is not an overstatement to say that such associations play a major role in students' and teachers' perceptions of varieties of English and language ownership. In other words, many times the same institutions that promote links between English, internationalization and the possibility of owning the world are the ones that help perpetuate the belief that the language is still dominated by its native speakers in particular countries.

Such perception has been recently reinforced by a new sector of the ELT market in Brazil – online schools. Although these institutions were not the main focus of analysis in this chapter, it has become increasingly important to pay attention to the discourses they construct and ideologies they promote. The case of the commercial mentioned earlier in this chapter – where learning online with a teacher from California was portrayed as more pleasurable, authentic and effective than having a nonnative English speaking teacher – is not isolated. When visiting websites of similar schools, one realizes that this type of message is actually quite common and widespread – a fact that not only reflects but also helps disseminate native speaker ideologies.

English as a subject

The final issue that I wish to highlight here is that of the treatment of English *as a subject* in regular schools. Whilst curricular guidelines emphasize the importance of having critical components in relation to the language, where issues of hegemony, localization, and internationalization become central aspects of ELT, nine of the participants stated that in actual practice the English that is taught in these schools is done solely with the goal of preparing students for the

university entrance exams that are the gateway to Brazilian higher education. This view is evidenced in the comments below.

Comment 14: *“This is beautiful, this document, but what is the real thing?*

The worry is to pass the entrance exams. That’s it.” (Participant 1)

Comment 15: *“Without a doubt, it [the objective of ELT in regular schools] is to fill the students up with information so they can pass the entrance exams.”* (Participant 8)

Comment 16: *“We have university entrance exams, and they [everyone involved in regular school education] are more worried about the students being approved in those exams.”* (Participant 4)

Comment 17: *“It [the purpose of teaching English in regular schools] is just to pass the college entrance examinations.”* (Participant 6)

It becomes difficult to put curricular recommendations made in official documents into practice when the actual curricula of regular schools are in fact oriented by examinations – which, for the most part, are heavily based on grammar and reading comprehension only. Moreover, as many of the interviewed teachers explained, many times the difficulties they have are aggravated by factors such as the lack of appropriate resources for language teaching (such as audiovisual equipment), particularly in public schools, the high number of students in the classrooms, the little time for class (usually two 45-minute sessions per week), and the complete indifference with which ELT – and foreign language teaching as a whole – is treated by several school administrators and

even colleagues (all of which have been well documented by previous studies – see, for instance, Lima, 2011).

The accounts of participants concerning these issues attest to the incoherence that exists between policy and practice not only in regards to ELT, but also in relation to several other educational aspects in Brazil. This question becomes even more critical when one considers that it is usually the country's elite who pass the most competitive of entrance examinations and consequently attend the best – usually free – universities (Fishlow, 2011).

Hence, in this case, once again, rather than being a language that can enable empowerment and mobility for all – as suggested by official documents themselves and supported by the academic community as a whole – English actually becomes one more instrument that may distance many people in the Brazilian society (mainly those in lower socioeconomic classes) from the possibility of change.

A complex picture

In brief, the investigation presented in this chapter shows that in the discourses of both private language schools and national curricular guidelines, English is conceptualized as an instrument of mobility and empowerment, which are presented as valuable symbols that enhance the significance of learning it. In the case of private language institutions, the language is considered so powerful that it is able to not only help one fulfill one's dreams and connect one to a larger global society, but it also brings with it the possibility of *owning* the world. This discourse clearly reflects consumerist ideologies that are prominent in the current

context of globalization (Bauman, 1998), and creates a desire not only for the language itself, but also (or mainly) for the power it carries and for the institutions that can “provide” it.

The discourses of curricular guidelines, in their turn, position English as a language that does not belong to any particular nation, and that can be appropriated by people in general for their own needs. It is in such appropriation that one will find the possibility of transforming students into global citizens, and of challenging the hegemonic role that the language has. Such a view is a clear contestation of native-speaker ideologies and of traditional notions of language as a pure, immutable entity.

In both of these cases, we have the understanding of English as the worldwide lingua franca. For the language school commercials, this lingua franca acts as an agent of liberalization, which enables people to freely flow across boundaries as they wish. For curricular guidelines, such association also seems to exist, but not so strongly. Instead, we have the possibility of contesting polarization and linguistic imperialism through the appropriation and nativization of English.

As it turns out, the analyses I have presented here can give only a brief idea of how complex and ambiguous these understandings of English, mobility and empowerment in ELT can be – at least in the case of Brazil. I say ambiguous because it seems that many of the messages that are conveyed by the key agents involved in this practice seem to find tensions within themselves. For many private language institutions, for instance, the possibility of “owning the world”

comes through a language that does not actually belong to this world, as it is still in the hands of particular speakers – a picture that has become even more complicated with the recent emergence of online schools, many of which explicitly portray native speaker ideologies. Meanwhile, for regular schools, the language is caught up between the discourses of change and critical inquiry, and the practices that prevent such notions from becoming a reality.

This ambiguity is reflected on the way people experience the language. The accounts of teachers presented earlier, for example, signal that there is a general belief that mobility and empowerment do not necessarily come with English, but are actually many times taken as assets that one must have in order to be able to learn it in the first place. This is usually the case in the opinions of some students who have no interest in learning the language simply because they do not envision themselves traveling to the United States or Great Britain, or anywhere else outside of Brazil. It is also the case of the narrator in the epigraph, who later describes in his story that he felt he only actually learned the language when he was able to afford to go to a private language institution, despite having been motivated to study it since his very first class.

Hence, the picture of ELT in Brazil reflects the country's positioning as a hierarchical society, "in which social origin and social position are critical to determining what an individual can or cannot do" (Almeida, 2008, p. 235), and where people themselves, as well as institutions, do not see each other as equals, especially because of social and economic status. According to Almeida, such hierarchical structure can only be reverted through "the evolution of the

educational sphere”, which “implies sociological, ideological, and macropolitical change” (p. 239).

In the case of ELT, more specifically, if we are to take statements about mobility and empowerment seriously in practice – especially in the case of students from lower socioeconomic classes – there is an urgent need to make these students actually *feel* part of an international society, and understand that their role is much larger than mere spectators of global processes. The practical implications of such endeavor and of the present research project as a whole are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The most exciting and challenging aspect of conducting research on such a complex topic as the conceptualization of English as a global language in a vast, emerging country like Brazil is perhaps the unfinished nature of this phenomenon. As the present study comes to a conclusion, the understandings of the language in the domains presented and analyzed here are still either somewhat ambiguous or taking new dimensions. In terms of political discourse, no decision has been taken on the prohibition of loanwords on a national level. As for ELT, new educational measures are being currently discussed by the Ministry of Education, and the new private segment of online learning is growing rapidly. Meanwhile, the influence of a global pop culture and digital media on the shaping of traditions and identities becomes larger as time goes by, as evidenced by new manifestations like *Technobrega* (a mixture of techno music and traditional rhythms from the countryside of Brazil) in the state of *Pará*, and a growing number of English loanwords being used by the media in general to connect with groups such as videogamers, bloggers, and teenage groupies.

In this chapter, I bring a summary and an overall discussion of the main findings of the present research project. In such discussion, I try to connect the conceptualizations of English in different domains of language regulation and use in Brazil to one another more thoroughly, and offer further considerations of how such an appraisal of the language may reflect larger sociocultural, political and historical issues in the country. It is in this appreciation that lies the main

contribution of the study, considering that its main objective was intrinsic in nature – whereby the case being considered is significant for “its own value or speciality” (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 152). I also discuss the ways in which the findings of the investigation relate to those of other literature on the conceptualizations of English.

Later in the chapter, I present other implications of the research project, mainly in regards to the study of English in relation to understandings of globalization, and to ELT in Brazil more specifically – given that such practice is still in stages of development and in need of improvement (as discussed in chapter 5). Finally, I suggest directions for future research.

Summary of the main findings

In the analysis of the political document that aims to justify the importance of regulating the use of loanwords in Brazil (chapter 3), English was conceptualized as a language connected to a view of US imperialism, and the invasion of American values in the Brazilian context – as proposed in theories of Americanization (O’Byrne & Hensby, 2011). Such view is not surprising, since it reflects Brazil’s dubious feelings towards a globalizing agenda that could favor wealthier countries – illustrated, for instance, by the government’s favoring of the more local South American economic bloc *Mercosul* and a later development of a South American Free Trade Area over the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas proposed by the United States (Fishlow, 2011).

However, the main premise behind that justification text is that Brazil is homogeneous and monolingual, and that Portuguese is one of the main agents that

contribute to such a strong unity. Although this view is usually supported and even praised by many Brazilians (Rajagopalan, 2003), a detailed analysis of the justification piece showed contradictions that reflected a tension between the *belief* in uniformity in relation to Brazilian society and the facts that disrupt such conviction – such as socioeconomic and regional inequalities. Thus, rather than being an agent that threatens to cause disturbance in the supposed “linguistic peace” of Brazil, English is actually posited as a *scapegoat* on which already existing conflicts could be blamed and upon which the state can directly interfere – as an assertion of authority and power, which have become growingly ambiguous in the current context of globalization (Bauman, 2007).

Meanwhile, pop culture movements such as *Manguebeat* and *Axé Music* (chapter 4), as well as other widespread activities related to digital media and youth group belonging (such as blogging and videogaming), challenge traditional understandings of immutable cultures and engage in reconceptualizations of identity based on the “integration within globalized ‘communities’ of shared experience” (Giddens, 1990, p. 141). English, in this case, is not only a lingua franca through which such communities can interact, but also becomes a major symbolic resource through which these reconstructions can take place – in a process of creolization (O’Byrne & Hensby, 2011).

Finally, in the case of ELT (chapter 5), English is commercially and officially presented as a language of mobility and empowerment that can lead one to own an increasingly boundless world (as suggested by theories of liberalization), or at least be able to critically engage with it as a way to contest

polarization and resist imperialism. Such conceptualizations in ELT – which are mainly based on discourses of world belonging, global citizenship, and necessity – have helped intensify the desire for the language in many circles; yet, at the same time, many people still feel a sense of disconnect with English, and the language is still mainly imagined as one tied to native speakers in the United States and the United Kingdom. Moreover, curricular pressures, socioeconomic differences, and the overall perception of failure in Brazilian ELT have meant that it is not English that leads to mobility and empowerment, but instead it is mobility and power that enable one to learn English.

Discussion and implications for the understanding of English in Brazil

A heteroglossic web of discourses

As it turns out, then, the symbolic meanings of English in Brazil are caught in a heteroglossic web of discourses, which – not surprisingly – reflect diverse understandings of global processes (O’Byrne & Hensby, 2011). The language is, according to these messages, threatening but necessary, associated with some but owned by all, hegemonic but liberating, empowering but inaccessible – all at the same time.

The case of Brazil, therefore, confirms claims that the symbolism of language as a sociocultural construct is strong and pervasive (Blommaert, 2010), and that the supposed dominance of a widespread “global language” can generate, simultaneously, hopes and anxieties in people, institutions, and governments. On the one hand, there is the (often official) discourse that connects *a* nation to *a* language, to *a* people, to *a* culture – which usually leads to a fear of linguistic

domination –, as well as the (also often official) rhetoric of ideal educational progress. On the other, there is the assertion – through practices – that language, culture, and people are better understood as dynamic, delocalized, and unstable, rather than monolithic and static (Pennycook, 2007), and the disconfirmation of purely rhetorical claims in educational policies.

As it turns out, such complex web of discourses encompasses more than just a conflict concerning understandings of globalization and the global spread of English (GSE). It actually involves an account of the ways in which Brazil has been constructed and conceptualized historically, how it positions itself in the present worldwide context, what it envisions for its future, and how these constructions may be questioned and reshaped by new dynamics and symbols – such as English – that have become increasingly present in the current context of globalization.

For instance, the juxtaposition of political discourses that intend to restrict English loanwords in Brazil and the actual deliberate use of such loanwords by cultural movements such as *Manguebeat*, as well as others, is perhaps best understood as a tension between the co-occurrence of *authoritative discourse* and *internally persuasive discourse* (Bakhtin, 1981). On the one side, we have the discourses of authority, embodied in the “authoritativeness of tradition, of generally acknowledged truths” (p. 344), such as the understanding of colonization as “great discoveries” and the assertion of Portuguese as the only language of Brazil. On the other, there is a word and a world that are “half-ours and half-someone else’s” (p. 345), where semantic structure and worldviews are

not finite, but *open*; “in each of the new contexts that dialogize it, this discourse is able to reveal ever newer *ways to mean*” (p. 346, emphasis in the original).

English conceptualizations, then, reflect not only the co-existence of notions of globalization and GSE, but clashing ideas of what Brazil *is*, and what it *should be*.

The case of ELT is not very different. In this domain, the discourses of private language institutions and curricular guidelines that try to centralize views of English and how its teaching should take place (in a centripetal nature) are contrasted by a de-centralized, centrifugal reality where people still struggle to learn it, or simply do not want to.

The analyses of the three domains taken into account in this investigation, thus, support previous studies covering different contexts – such as Japan (Seargeant, 2009) and France (Martin, 2007), for instance –, which have shown that there are tensions in how English is conceptualized in different discourses. Similarly to the case of Brazil, many times this paradox is characterized by conflicts between an official suspicion that English imposes a threat to national identities, and the creative use of the language in domains such as pop culture and media discourse – where, many times, it is used as a simple form of entertainment (e.g., Martin, 2007), or as a symbol of the reconstruction of identities and essentialist notions about national cultures and/or societies (e.g., Moody, 2006; Lee, 2006). Furthermore, contradiction also exists between the rhetoric of language education policy (which many times heavily promotes the need to study English), the voices of many students – who several times feel no ownership over the language (Matsuda, 2003) or any real need to learn it (Tarnopolsky, 1996) –,

and the actual pedagogical practices that take place in schools – which, as shown in previous studies (e.g., Nunan, 2003) and confirmed in the accounts of the teachers interviewed in this investigation, are often inadequate and seem to show the language as unimportant, rather than essential.

More specifically, the analyses presented in this study support Rajagopalan's (2003) claim that the Brazilian public at large has developed an ambivalent love-hate relationship with English, which in turn reflects a crisis of national identity in light of the complex geopolitics of the country. For Rajagopalan, this ambivalence is mainly evidenced by the conflict between measures such as the PL analyzed in chapter 3 and the craze for learning the language in Brazil.

What I must add to Rajagopalan's statement is that such duality is caused by more than public feelings of love and loathe, and reflects more than a crisis of identity alone. Other issues – mainly legislative authority, the role of the state, and the contradictions between discourses of mobility and empowerment and unsuccessful practices – certainly play a central role in the way the language is understood and experienced in Brazil, revealing crises of power, democracy, politics, and education.

Moreover, Rajagopalan's text may give the impression (although that is not what he says) that the ambivalence of English in Brazil is mainly based on the different functions the language has in that context – in which case it may appear that the language is perceived one way when loanwords are introduced into Portuguese, and another when it is understood as a system which people learn for

international communication, for instance. Such impression is also present (at least implicitly) in much of the literature on GSE in other contexts as well (e.g., Martin, 2007; Leppänen, 2007; Seargeant, 2009).

As shown in the analyses presented here, however, that is not always the case. In the Brazilian context, at least, the duality of English happens within and across domains, and within and across discourses of the same people and institutions – a fact that can also occur and may be worth investigating in other settings as well.

In the case of legislative authority and the role of the state, for instance, it seems curious, to say the least, that a projected law to prohibit loanwords – mainly from English – is under debate at the same time as educational guidelines propose that the analysis of the language's sociolinguistic manifestations is crucial for its teaching and learning in regular schools. In other words, while we have some official discourses trying to assert state power over English due to its supposed threat, we have other official texts promoting the importance of the language as a *lingua franca*, and the need to engage with its symbolic meanings in the classroom. As for the case of mobility and empowerment, the contradictions between discourse and practice, and between official texts and students' perceptions (based on teachers' voices) that were extensively discussed in chapter 5 also attest to a duality in perceptions of the language.

Two issues deserve particular importance in the understanding of these conflicts. The first one is Brazil's still emergent nature, both politically and economically. The fact that the country has just recently been re-democratized

after a period of over 20 years of military dictatorship means that it has just begun to redefine its role both internally – in the actual construction of its new democracy – and in relation to the global arena (Fishlow, 2011). It is understandable, then, that forces that have usually been considered external or foreign – such as English – are experienced with a certain degree of duality, given that the country itself has just gone (or perhaps is still going) through the reconstruction of its self-image, the definition of the roles of the state, and the stabilization of its political institutions (Santos & Vilarouca, 2008).

The second issue is the vastness of the country and its multifaceted nature. Even if bills such as the one analyzed in chapter 3 and many times people themselves insist in conceiving of Brazil as a homogeneous country – although, as previously discussed, even such discourses are bound with contradictions –, the country is still largely divided based on regional, ethnic, and socioeconomic differences, as defended by Friedrich (2001) and reinforced throughout this study. In the case of English, such differences – mainly socioeconomic ones – are largely reflected on accounts of students (and people in general) who feel that the language is not part of their immediate reality, whereas others can use it to move across the planet and own it as they please.

A continuous process

Considering the idiosyncrasies of the case of Brazil presented above, an understanding of English in the country needs to take into account how this language is *spreading* in that particular context, in a continuous way, rather than engaging with how it already exists there. This view is in accordance with

Friedrich's (2001) argument that, if considered from a WE perspective, Brazil is "halfway in the Expanding Circle and halfway outside of the realm of the model", and thus the country is "in a movement that might eventually place it all inside" (p. 147). For Friedrich, some significant aspects of such movement are related to demographic characteristics (such as the regional differences that exist in the country), as well as variations in economic and educational levels – a view that is endorsed here.

Based on these considerations, it is important to note that there are a few recent facts which seem to suggest that the picture of duality in relation to English that has been prevalent so far may be changing. In terms of ELT, the current effort by the federal government to implement the program *Ciência sem Fronteiras* [Science without Borders] – which, as explained in chapter 5, aims to send Brazilian higher education students to study abroad – seems to be taken more seriously in practice than curricular guidelines have been over the years. For instance, there is the concurrent implementation of other programs that will complement *Ciência sem Fronteiras*, such as *Escola sem Fronteiras* [Schools without Borders] and *Programa Ensino de Inglês como Língua Estrangeira* [Teaching English as a Foreign Language Program] – which will take Brazilian educators to national and international schools of excellence and universities, and bring educational specialists from around the world to interact with schools in the country, with the aim of improving teacher qualification.

Moreover, there is the current approximation of the Ministry of Education and the Brazilian Association of Applied Linguistics [*Associação de Linguística*

Aplicada do Brasil, in Portuguese] – who are working together to create language learning centers in schools, and to initiate English teaching from earlier grades –, as well as a number of current investments being made to ensure that some professionals (such as policemen and salespeople) have at least basic knowledge of English for the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympic Games in 2016.

As for the case of loanwords, a recent poll conducted by the legislative body of the city of *São Carlos* (Câmara municipal de São Carlos, 2010), in the state of *São Paulo*, has suggested that the population's support to restrictive measures over the use of borrowings may no longer be as high as it was in the beginning of the 2000s – although the number of participants surveyed and the local nature of the poll do not enable stronger conclusions.

These educational measures and possible changes in attitude towards restrictive language policies may be favored by the continuous evolution of Brazil in the political and socioeconomic spheres. For example, the country's left-right extreme divide in economic management – which favored a climate of extreme duality – has become less severe, “with the center having gained at the expense of left and right extremes” (Power, 2008, p. 101). Moreover, Brazil's economy has grown quite consistently within the past decade, having become the 6th largest worldwide in 2011 (in spite of the pessimism of slow growth in the next few years), and income disparities amongst individuals have declined since the 1990s – according to numbers by *Fundação Getúlio Vargas* (Neri, 2010). Finally, the country has shown a growing commitment to the digital inclusion of the lower socioeconomic classes, with programs that aim to ensure access to broadband

Internet for the population and that seek to bring more technology into public schools.

Considering the recent nature of such political, economic and educational changes, it remains to be seen how the country will develop its role as a global force in the international arena, and how the concept of English, as well as its teaching and learning, will advance together with this development. The current scenario seems to favor positive changes in these respects, but there certainly is a long way to go.

Further implications

In addition to the contribution that this research project makes to the comprehension of GSE in Brazil, through the analysis of the language's conceptualizations and the examination of how such conceptualizations reflect larger issues in the country, there are other implications of the study that deserve consideration. The main ones have to do with two factors: the associations between the study of English spread and understandings of globalization, and pedagogical recommendations for ELT in Brazil. In this section, I explain how the present investigation may contribute to these areas.

Globalization and the spread of English

A growing body of literature has emphasized – either directly or indirectly – the connections between GSE and globalization itself (e.g., Blommaert, 2010; Bolton, 2012; Kubota & McKay, 2009; Kumaravadivelu, 2012; Macedo, Dendrinis & Gounari, 2003; Mufwene, 2010; Niño-Murcia, 2003; Pennycook, 2007; Saxena & Omoniyi, 2010; Seargeant, 2009). Much of this literature

conceptualizes globalization in one particular way, which means that other understandings of the phenomenon are not necessarily taken into account. Thus, one of the contributions of this research project is the presentation of how different theories of globalization (based on O’Byrne & Hensby, 2011) may relate to the comprehension of GSE as a whole and to the main theories that guide its study. It is hoped that such connections can inform future research on GSE and help problematize it in relation to the ways different individuals and social groups have experienced, engaged with, and contested globalization – which could, in turn, help approximate the study of English as a global language to the field of global studies as a whole.

ELT in Brazil

As stated earlier in this chapter, the Brazilian government has recently approved and started to implement several measures with the aim of enhancing the overall quality of education in Brazil. As previously explained, these programs should have a direct impact on ELT more specifically, since they relate to international educational collaborations between Brazil and other countries, involving educators and students. Moreover, the difficulties in implementing them have highlighted the low levels of English proficiency of many pupils in Brazilian private and public regular schools, leading the government to partnerships with professional and scholarly organizations like the Brazilian Association of Applied Linguistics, with the objective of improving the quality of English teaching.

These measures are not only welcome, but necessary. If their impact is within expectations, they should bring positive developments in terms of teacher

qualification – which is one of the main problems in the case of ELT in Brazil (Oliveira e Paiva, 2011) – as well as the actual structuring of English classes in the curriculum, as exemplified by the efforts to create language learning centers in regular schools, and to initiate English teaching from earlier grades.

What the results of the specific analysis of ELT presented in chapter 5 have shown is that the success of any effort to improve the quality of ELT in Brazil needs to take into account the necessity to make students *feel* part of a larger international society, and understand that their role is larger than spectators of global processes. What this means in practice is that present and future measures implemented in the Brazilian educational system need to account for ways in which students themselves will perceive that English *is* indeed an instrument of power, but one that can serve *them*, and not only the privileged pupils who can afford to travel abroad and attend elite institutions, or the “powers that be in the northern hemisphere” (Rajagopalan, 2003, p. 92) that may “threaten” national identity – as proposed by the document analyzed in chapter 3. How exactly this can be done is an answer that must be sought by all members of the academic and educational communities as a whole, from the political and educational leaders in the country to teachers and school administrators – and one that will demand time.

Here, I wish to highlight two particular factors that may be important for such endeavor. The first one is pop culture, which was discussed in chapter 4. Considering the power that this domain has to shape identities, to connect students to larger global communities (such as hip hop musicians and fans), to

construct desire for English, and to inform educational approaches to language awareness (Pennycook, 2010), its importance cannot be underestimated in the English language classroom. This implies more than bringing songs and fill-in-the-blanks activities to class – which are, of course, often welcome –, but actually making pupils realize that the communities to which they belong (whether as groupies, musicians, graffiti artists, radical sports enthusiasts, or videogamers, for example) as well as those of which they want to be part either already do or can interact with other social groups on an international scale – as evidenced by movements such as *Mangubeat*.

The second factor is digital media, which, as stated by Gee and Hayes (2011), have changed our personal ties on a global scale, since now “everyone in the digitally connected parts of the world, in a sense, lives next to each other” (p. 35). Gee and Hayes explain that such connection has led people in this century to join online passionate affinity spaces – defined as “new civic spaces composed of people from all over a country or the world” based on personal passions (p. 89) – and social network websites (like Facebook and Twitter) that enable them to cross various national, cultural, and identity borders. Therefore, by engaging with such a powerful system, students can feel that their participation in the world may expand beyond their local sociolinguistic contexts.

In the particular case of public schools – perhaps the most critical one in Brazil, when one considers the socioeconomic factors that play an important role in ELT there –, a crucial step in enabling most students with access to digital media is already being taken by the federal and state governments. Many schools

in the country have begun to receive desktop computers, laptops and tablets in an effort to ensure that pupils can use these tools and become digitally included.

Nevertheless, it is essential to have in mind that the acquisition of these devices alone does not guarantee positive educational results. As explained by Gee and Hayes (2011), any technology, no matter how simple or sophisticated, is effective “only in terms of how, when, where, and why they are put to use” (p. 5). Thus, in the case of ELT in Brazil, it is important to encourage students to explore possible passionate affinity spaces and identities that can perhaps help them interact with others on an international level (see Norton & McKinney, 2011 for a thorough review and explanation of how second language learning can be addressed through an identity approach), and to devote time, money and resources to the creation of pedagogical websites, programs and applications that can be used in English classrooms and at home. Moreover, it is crucial that the current efforts to better qualify teachers include the preparation of these educators to engage with the new technologies being implemented in schools, and to have their students use them in ways that will adequately and effectively enhance learning.

Suggestions for further research

As stated in chapter 2, one of the main limitations of the present study is that it addressed the conceptualizations of English in only three of the main domains of language regulation and use. Future research could investigate how the language is conceived in different spheres, such as advertisement, translation, and digital media. The analyses of the language in such domains could follow the same theory of language and discourse that was used here, or attempt to use other

frameworks and methods (e.g., Fairclough, 2010; Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001; Van Dijk, 2008), which would most likely bring very interesting insights.

In addition, the domains already investigated here could be further examined from different approaches and perspectives. In the case of political language, future research could address how popular groups and manifestations (such as *MV-Brasil* – a nationalist movement) as well as grammarians have approached the issue of loanwords. In the case of pop culture, there are several other groups and movements (in music, sports, and the visual arts, for instance) that have strong ties to international communities and that could thus provide very rich linguistic data in terms of English use.

As for ELT, the domain has become so vast and multilayered in Brazil that the possibilities are numerous. An important aspect that is in need of examination relates to the evaluation of programs and materials being implemented by the federal government to enhance English teaching. Unless these programs and materials are carefully analyzed by meticulous research, we may be running the risk of spending a large amount of public money and not moving forward. Another area that deserves careful consideration is the discourses of online schools, which have started to grow rapidly in the country. In fact, this is a field which I have already started to investigate – in collaboration with Dr. Patricia Friedrich, from Arizona State University – and that seems promising in terms of results.

Finally, the voices of all involved in ELT – mainly teachers and students – in Brazil and in any other context need to be constantly given space in academic research. As shown by previous investigations (e.g., Friedrich, 2000; Matsuda, 2003) and confirmed in the present study, it is only through these voices that we can actually grasp the way English is understood and experienced by people themselves, which is fundamental for the directions scholarly research, policymaking, and pedagogical practices must take.

A final word

In conclusion, there are five main contributions of the present study. For one, it adds to the growing literature on English conceptualizations by bringing the case of Brazil. Second, when discussing this particular case, it further problematizes the conflictive notion of the language *as a whole* – through the explanation that such tension may take place both within and across discourses –, and *in that context more specifically*, by showing that its ambivalent role there reflects more than a relation of love and hate; it actually involves understandings of Brazil itself, its history, class structure, and institutional roles – all of which reflect the changing dynamics of the country in the context of globalization.

Moreover, the individual analyses themselves are a valuable contribution, since they bring new perspectives on the political discourses that have attempted to regulate the use of loanwords in Brazil, and on the complex nature of ELT in the country, besides emphasizing the role of pop culture in the understanding of English in that context. In the particular case of ELT, there is the stress on the need to make students feel part of a global society, and recommendations that can

help in this endeavor, as well as the suggestion that more attention needs to be given to the discourses of online schools.

Finally, there are the connections made between the study of GSE and some of the main theoretical lenses that attempt to explain globalization as a whole. Considering the growing attention that such relation has gained in applied linguistics literature, my hope is that the insights I bring can be informative to future studies.

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APPENDIX A

CODING TABLE FOR LANGUAGE SCHOOL COMMERCIALS (USED FOR
INVESTIGATOR’S CODING AND PEER CHECKING)

Coding table for language school commercials

Consider the following question after watching each commercial, and answer it on the table below. Make any comments you find necessary and/or helpful (optional).

Question: What is the major theme of the commercial? Choose from: World belonging (WB), Necessity (N), or Teaching methods (TM). See definitions on the next page.

Commercial	Theme – World belonging (WB); Necessity (N); Teaching methods (TM)	Comments?
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Code definitions

World belonging (WB) - focus on being an insider (or outsider) to global culture and/or to groups associated with this culture (for example, rock fans, international travelers). Emphasis on English as a passport or gatekeeper to such culture/groups.

Necessity (N) - focus on the role of English as the necessary instrument that will lead one to take opportunities, achieve success and fulfill their dreams (for example, find a new job, get a promotion, or meet a new boyfriend or girlfriend).

Teaching methods (TM) - focus on methods, materials, technological devices, and teachers who are capable of making a difference in a student's learning.

APPENDIX B

CODING SHEET FOR OFFICIAL EDUCATIONAL DOCUMENTS (USED
FOR INVESTIGATOR'S CODING AND PEER CHECKING)

CATEGORIES IDENTIFIED:

Global language – focus on the role of English as the international language of business, pop culture, the media, and cyberspace. Emphasis on the need to understand the local and global manifestations of the language, and on the importance of forming global citizens.

Hegemony – focus on English as a language of power in opposition to others. Emphasis on the necessity to raise critical consciousness about this issue.

INSTRUCTIONS:

Highlight passages that reflect these categories with the corresponding colors (purple or yellow). Whenever possible, highlight full sentences. If other categories seem to emerge from the data, take notes for further analysis.

APPENDIX C

TEACHER INTERVIEW GUIDE

Teacher Interview Guide

PART 1

Directions: You will watch a TV commercial of a language school in Brazil. The questions that I will ask you will be based on this commercial.

After watching the commercial:

1. What do you think is the message?
2. How does this message position teachers?
3. How does it position students?
4. What kinds of expectations does it create?
5. How realistic are these expectations?
6. Overall, how do you feel about the commercial?
7. Would you like to add anything?

PART 2

Directions: You will read an excerpt from the National Curricular Guidelines for Foreign Language Education in Brazil. The questions that I will ask you will be based on this excerpt.

After reading the excerpt:

1. How do you feel about the goals set?
2. What goals would you add? Why?
3. What goals would you get rid of? Why?
4. How much of these guidelines do you incorporate in your own teaching practice?
5. How do you think the guidelines position teachers?
6. How do they position students?
7. Overall, how do you feel about the guidelines?
8. Would you like to add anything?

APPENDIX D
IRB APPROVAL

To: Patricia Friedrich
FABN

From: Mark Roosa, Chair *SM*
Soc Beh IRB

Date: 05/09/2011

Committee Action: Exemption Granted

IRB Action Date: 05/09/2011

IRB Protocol #: 1105006414

Study Title: The Conceptualization of English as a Global Language in Brazil

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2).

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.